STEPNEY

PUBLIC

LIBRARIES

Readers Please Note:

It is necessary in all references to this book to quote fully the author's name, its title, and the appended particulars; also, the last date recorded on its Issue Register:—

35276

ADDRESS—

MSC

35276

BATEMAN

Simon de

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone Service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

142·059

SIMON DE MONTFORT

His Life and Work

By

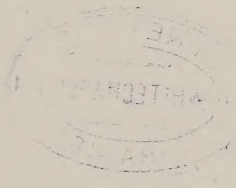
SOMERSET BATEMAN, B.A. (LONDON)
SENIOR SCHOLAR OF THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES
EXHIBITIONER OF JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD
HEAD MASTER OF COLESHILL GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Via prima salutis,
quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.
Aeneid vi. 96–7.

BIRMINGHAM
CORNISH BROTHERS LTD.
PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY
39 NEW STREET
1923

D 35276
942.034

To My Wife



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/simondemontforth0000some

PREFACE

'An ill-favoured thing, sir, but mine own.'

FOR some years I have felt it to be a standing reproach to English historians that the standard life of Simon de Montfort has been written by a Frenchman. Teaching affords so little leisure that I do not claim to be an historian; I can but imitate the little son of Aeneas:

Dextrae se parvus Iulus
implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis.

At a period when all but the cheapest books were beyond my means, I was fortunately so situated that I could make up for the deficiency by frequent visits to the British Museum. Then, through force of circumstances, I found myself cut off from libraries, without the compensating advantage of being able to procure the necessary books for myself. Nevertheless, before the war I had collected much material, and only a vigorous effort was needed to give it form and shape. The many tasks imposed on me by the war precluded any attention to the muse of history; a fallow period was required to recover from the strain, and it was only in 1921 that I felt equal to the resumption of my studies. Fortunately, I have been able to procure nearly all the essential books, so that I have worked through the original authorities as far as possible, and now venture to present to the University of my graduation a small proof of my interest in historical studies, which unfortunately held but a very small place in its programme of work thirty years ago.

It is only justice on my part to acknowledge the help given by two friends, Mr. E. G. Finch, M.A., and Mr. H. G. Stead, M.Sc., in reading through the manuscript and making many suggestions, which, if they have not affected the main part of the work, have removed many small blemishes and minor imperfections.

SOMERSET BATEMAN.

9th October, 1922.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	LIST OF AUTHORITIES	8
I.	THE BACKGROUND	13
II.	THE FOREGROUND	28
III.	THE FAMILY OF MONTFORT: THE EARLY YEARS OF SIMON	39
IV.	SIMON THE COURTIER	49
V.	SIMON THE CRUSADER AND SOLDIER .	63
VI.	SIMON THE GOVERNOR	79
VII.	THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND . .	104
VIII.	THE MISGOVERNMENT OF HENRY III .	117
IX.	PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS AT REFORM . .	135
X.	THE DAY OF RECKONING . . .	159
XI.	REACTION	187
XII.	THE BARONS' WAR	204
XIII.	THE TEST	230
XIV.	THE DISINHERITED	253
XV.	THE HOUSEHOLD ROLL OF THE COUNTESS OF LEICESTER	272
APPENDIX A.	GENEALOGICAL TABLES . .	280
„ B.	PLANS OF LEWES AND EVESHAM	283
INDEX		285

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

Arnold, T. W. *The Little Flowers of St. Francis.* 1898. Dent.

Bannatyne Club. *Chronicon de Lanercost.* 1839. Edinburgh.

—— —— *Chronica de Mailros.* 1835. Edinburgh.

Barnard, E. A. B. *Evesham.* 1908. The Homeland Books.

Barnard, F. P. *Companion to English History (Middle Ages).* 1902. Clarendon Press.

Beazley, C. R. *A Note-Book of Mediaeval History.* 1917. Clarendon Press.

Bémont, Charles. *Simon de Montfort.* 1884. Alphonse Picard: Paris.

Blaauw, W. H. *The Barons' War.* 1844. Nichols & Son.

Bolland, W. C. *The General Eyre.* 1922. Cambridge Press.

Bridges, J. H. *The Life and Work of Roger Bacon.* 1914. Williams & Norgate.

Bryce, J. *The Holy Roman Empire.* 1907. Macmillan.

Buckle, H. T. *The History of Civilization in England.* World's Classics. Three volumes, 1903–4. Grant Richards.

Burrows, M. *Cinque Ports.* 1903. Longmans.

Burton, J. Hill. *History of Scotland.* Volume ii. 1901. Blackwood.

Cambridge Mediaeval History. Volume iii. 1922. Cambridge Press.

Camden Society. *De Antiquis Legibus Liber.* T. Stapleton. 1846.

—— —— *The Political Songs of England.* T. Wright. 1839.

—— —— William de Rishanger. *The Barons' Wars.* 1840.

Cavanagh, P. *Life of St. Thomas Aquinas.* n. d. Burns & Oates.

Champollion-Figeac. *Lettres des Rois, Reines et autres Personnages.* Tome i. 1839. Paris.

Close Rolls. Five volumes. 1902–16.

Colby, C. W. *Selections from the Sources of English History.* 1899. Longmans.

Coulton, G. G. *From St. Francis to Dante.* 1907. Nutt.

Cox, Sir G. W. *The Crusades.* 1905. Longmans.

Creighton, M. *Life of Simon de Montfort.* 1877. Rivington.

Davis, H. W. C. *England under the Normans and Angevins.* 1919. Methuen.

—— *Mediaeval Europe.* n. d. Williams & Norgate.

Dictionary of National Biography.

Droysen, G. *Allgemeiner Historischer Hand-Atlas.* 1886. Velhagen und Klasing: Bielefeld und Leipzig.

Duclaux, Mary. *A Short History of France.* 1919. Fisher Unwin.

Fauriel, M. C. *Histoire de la Croisade contre les Hérétiques Albigeois.* 1837. Paris.
Foss, E. *The Judges of England.* 1870. Murray.
Freeman, E. A. *History of the Norman Conquest.* Volumes ii, iv, and v. 1877. Clarendon Press.
Fry, E. A. *Almanacks for Students of English History.* 1915. Phillimore.
Gardiner and Mullinger. *Introduction to English History.* 1903. Kegan Paul.
Gebhart, E. *L'Italie Mystique.* 9th edition. n. d. Hachette : Paris.
Gibbon. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Volumes v, vi, vii. 1898. Methuen.
Giles, J. A. *The English History of Matthew Paris.* Three volumes. 1902. Bell.
Green, J. R. *A Short History of the English People.* 1895. Macmillan.
Green, M. A. E. *Lives of the Princesses of England.* Volume ii. 1849. Henry Colburn.
Greenwood, A. D. *Empire and Papacy in the Middle Ages.* 1912. George Allen.
Guiraud, Jean. *Saint Dominic.* 1913. R. & T. Washbourne.
Guizot, F. *The History of Civilization.* Volumes i and iii. 1890. Bell.
Guizot, M. *St. Louis and Calvin.* 1879. Macmillan.
Hallam, A. *The Middle Ages.* Murray.
Harcourt, L. W. Vernon. *His Grace the Steward and Trial of Peers.* 1907. Longmans.
Hassall, A. *British History chronologically arranged.* 1920.
—— *European History chronologically arranged.* 1920.
Hearnshaw, F. J. C. (Edited by). *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilization.* 1921. Harrap.
Hobhouse, W. *The Church and the World in Idea and in History.* 1910. Macmillan.
Holland, Clive. *Warwickshire.* 1906. Black.
Hort, Rev. F. J. A. The last days of Simon de Montfort : A Fragment. *Macmillan's Magazine.* June, 1864.
Hutton, W. H. *The Misrule of Henry III.* 1887. Nutt.
—— *Simon de Montfort and his Cause.* 1907. Nutt.
Jessopp, A. *The Coming of the Friars.* 1906. Fisher Unwin.
Johnstone, Hilda. *A Hundred Years of History.* 1912. Longmans.
Kingsford, C. L. *The Song of Lewes.* 1890. Clarendon Press.
Kitchin, G. W. *History of France.* Volume i. 1881. Clarendon Press.
—— *Winchester.* 1897. Longmans.
Krüger, Gustav. *The Papacy: The Idea and its Exponents.* 1909. Fisher Unwin.
Lees, B. A. *The Central Period of the Middle Ages.* 1909. Methuen.
Legg, L. G. W. *English Coronation Records.* 1901. Constable.

Lethaby, W. R. *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen.* 1906. Duckworth.

Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis. 1890. Garnier Frères : Paris.

Lightfoot, Bishop. *Historical Essays.* 1896. Macmillan.

—— *Leaders in the Northern Church.* 1902. Macmillan.

Liveing, H. G. D. *Records of Romsey Abbey.* 1906. Warren & Son, Winchester.

Luchaire, Achille. *Innocent III. La Croisade des Albigeois.* 1911. Hachette : Paris.

—— *Social France at the time of Philip Augustus.* 1912. Murray.

Madox, T. *The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer.* 1711. Robert Knaplock.

Magnus, Laurie. *A General Sketch of European Literature.* 1918. Kegan Paul.

Maguire, D. L. *Historic Links.* 1910. Sonnenschein.

Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Printed for the Roxburghe Club by Beriah Botfield. 1841. W. Nicol.

Marvin, F. S. *The Living Past.* 1920. Clarendon Press.

Masterman, J. H. B. *The Dawn of Mediaeval Europe.* 1909. Methuen.

M^c^Killiam, A. E. *A Chronicle of the Popes.* 1912. Bell.

Milman, Dean. *History of Latin Christianity.* Volumes v and vi. 1867. Murray.

Muir, Ramsay. *New Historical Atlas for Students.* 1911. Philip.

New, E. A. *Evesham.* 1904. Dent.

Nicolas, Sir H. *The Chronology of History.* 1838. Longman.

—— *The Historic Peerage of England.* 1857. Murray.

Nicolas, N. H. *Testamenta Vetusta.* Two volumes. 1826. Nichols & Son.

Oliphant, Mrs. *Francis of Assisi.* 1894. Macmillan.

Ollard and Crosse. *Dictionary of English Church History.* 1912. Mowbray.

Oxford Historical Society :

(a) *Studies in Oxford History.* Green and Roberson. Edited by C. L. Stainer. 1901. Clarendon Press.

(b) *Oxford Silver Pennies.* C. L. Stainer. 1904. Clarendon Press.

(c) *Mediaeval Archives of the University of Oxford.* H. E. Salter. 1920. Clarendon Press.

Palgrave, Sir F. *Collected Historical Works.* Volumes i–viii. 1919–22. Cambridge Press.

Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III. Six volumes. 1901–13.

Pauli, R. *Pictures of Old England.* The Universal Library. Routledge.

—— *Simon von Montfort.* 1867. Tübingen.

Pearson, C. H. *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages.* Volume ii. 1867. Bell & Daldy.

Poole, R. L. *Mediaeval Thought and Learning.* 1920. S.P.C.K.
Prothero, G. W. *Simon de Montfort.* 1877. Longmans.
Quarterly Review, volume cxix. January, 1866. Murray.
Ramsay, Sir J. H. *The Dawn of the Constitution.* 1908. Sonnenschein.
Richardson, O. H. *The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III.* 1897. The Macmillan Co.
Roberts, C. *Calendarium Genealogicum.* Two volumes. 1865.
—— *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium.* Two volumes. 1835.
Robertson, A. *Regnum Dei.* 1901. Methuen.
Rogers, J. E. T. *Six Centuries of Work and Wages.* 1908. Sonnenschein.
Rolls Series:
(a) *Annales Monastici:* I. *Morgan, Tewkesbury, Burton.* 1864.
II. *Winchester, Waverley.* 1865.
III. *Dunstable, Bermondsey.* 1866.
IV. *Osney, Wykes, Worcester.* 1869.
(b) Bartholomew de Cotton. *Historia Anglicana.* 1859.
(c) *Chronica Roger de Wendover.* Volumes i iii. 1886–7–8.
(d) *Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester.* Two volumes. 1887.
(e) *Flores Historiarum.* Volumes ii and iii. 1890.
(f) Matthew Paris. *Chronica Maiora.* Volumes vi and vii. 1882–3.
(g) —— —— *Historia Anglorum.* Volumes i and ii. 1866.
(h) *Monumenta Franciscana.* Volumes i and ii. 1858–82.
(i) *Rishanger: Chronica et Annales.* 1865.
(j) *Royal Letters: Henry III.* Two volumes. 1862.
(k) *Chronica Iohannis de Oxenedes.* 1859.
Rymer. *Foedera.* Volume i, Part i. Edited by Clarke and Holbrooke. 1816. London.
Sabatier, Paul. *Life of St. Francis of Assisi.* 1902. Hodder & Stoughton.
Sismondi, J. C. *The Italian Republics.* Everyman's Library. Dent.
Stanley, Dean. *Historical Memorials of Canterbury.* Everyman's Library. Dent.
—— *Memorials of Westminster Abbey.* 1911. Murray.
Stephen, Sir J. *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.* Volume i. 1907. Longman.
Stephens, W. R. W. *A History of the English Church.* Volume ii. 1916. Macmillan.
Stevenson, F. S. *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln.* 1899. Macmillan.
Stubbs, Bishop. *Constitutional History of England.* Volume ii. 1906. Clarendon Press.
—— *Germany in the Early Middle Ages.* 1908. Longmans.
—— *Germany in the Late Middle Ages.* 1908. Longmans.
—— *Lectures on Early English History.* 1906. Longmans.

Stubbs, Bishop. *Lectures on the Study of Mediaeval and Modern History.* 1900. Clarendon Press.
—— *Select Charters.* 1890. Clarendon Press.
—— *The Early Plantagenets.* 1896. Longmans.
Testa de Nevill. 1807.
Thatcher and Schwill. *Europe in the Middle Ages.* 1897. Murray.
Thierry, A. *Norman Conquest of England.* Volume ii. Everyman's Library. Dent.
Tout, T. F. *Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History.* Volume i. 1920. Manchester University Press.
—— *France and England.* 1922. Manchester University Press.
—— *Historical Essays.* 1907. Manchester University Press.
—— *The Empire and the Papacy.* 1909. Rivingtons.
—— *The Political History of England.* Volume iii. 1905. Longmans.
Trench, Archbishop. *Lectures on Mediaeval Church History.* 1877. Macmillan.
Turner, Sharon. *The History of England during the Middle Ages.* Volumes i and ii. 1825. Longman.
Villehardouin and Joinville. *Memoirs of the Crusades.* Everyman's Library. 1915. Dent.
Wakeman and Hassall. *Constitutional Essays.* 1891. Longmans.
Wall, Bernard. *St. Edmund.* 1903. Sands.
Wall, J. C. *Shrines of British Saints.* 1905. Methuen.
Wright. *Court-Hand Restored.* 1912. Stevens & Sons.

35276

STEPNEY PUBLIC WHITECHAPEL LIBRARIES

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND

WHAT men do and what men are, depend very largely upon the main principles of thought current in their day and generation. Therefore, before a person can understand mediaeval history, he must realize, at any rate partially, the principles upon which mediaeval civilization was based.

The visible world was the work of a single Creator, who was Himself working out upon it as a loom the variegated pattern of the actions and interactions that make up human life. All men formed a unity because of their common origin from this one Creator. The unseen world around them was peopled with good and evil spirits, who played an active part in their life. Religion was the chief concern of men, and theology the chief method of thought. But the theology was all-embracing; it not only discussed the relations between God and man, but also aimed at directing politics, philosophy, and education. The chief agent of God was the pope, the visible head upon earth of the Holy Roman Church. But man consists of body and spirit, therefore he needs two rulers, who must be equally universal and powerful. As God is lord of heaven and earth, He needs two representatives upon earth, pope and emperor. Therefore the Holy Roman Empire was the counterpart of the Holy Roman Church and comprised the same individuals seen from a different angle. If these two supreme leaders had worked together, there would have been no need to modify this theory. But they did not, consequently there followed the assertion

that, as the spiritual was greater than the temporal, so the pope was superior to the emperor. This was reinforced by a parallel from nature. The sun is greater than the moon, therefore the pope is greater than the emperor.

The beginning of the thirteenth century saw the throne of St. Peter occupied by Innocent III, who claimed to rule not only the universal church, but also the whole world, and assumed the title of Vicar of Christ instead of that of Vicar of Peter.[1] Nor was the claim confined to words. When Peter II of Aragon was crowned at Rome in 1204, he paid homage to Innocent III as vassal and tributary of St. Peter.[2] That pope laid both France and England under an interdict, compelled the king of France to be reconciled to his wife, excommunicated the king of England and bestowed his kingdom on the son of the French king;[3] after the submission of John, who surrendered his crown to the papal legate and received it back as a vassal of the pope,[4] the latter vigorously took up his cause against the barons and forbade Philip of France to allow his son to molest the king of England.[5] The same pope whose imperious tones rang out to distant corners of Europe, perhaps found time to pen the hymns, 'Come, Thou Holy Spirit, come', and 'At the Cross her station keeping'.[6] So strangely mingled are the actions of men.

This interference in the temporal affairs of men on the part of the pope is the key-note of the thirteenth century. The World-Church and the World-Empire comprised the

[1] Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, p. 267, note.
[2] Luchaire, *Innocent III. La Croisade des Albigeois*, p. 81.
[3] M'Killiam, *A Chronicle of the Popes*, pp. 300–4.
[4] Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, p. 368.
[5] Wendover, *Chronica*, ii, pp. 176–7.
[6] Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilization*, p. 79.

same elements viewed from differing standpoints. The heads of these two powers came into collision, and then the pope used every weapon in his armoury, both spiritual and temporal, against the emperor. As overlord, he claimed to control the ruling of England ; as pope, he claimed to dispose of its benefices and ecclesiastical revenues : from both standpoints he was brought into the closest contact with England throughout the reign of Henry III. Consequently one feature of the reign was the opposition to papal claims and exactions. When the pope had excommunicated London in 1215, the citizens objected : 'The ordering of secular matters appertaineth not to the pope.'[1] Grosseteste admitted his power over benefices, but wrote : 'Whoever abuses this power is helping to feed the fire of Gehenna.'[2] When Gregory IX deposed Frederick II in 1239 and offered the imperial crown to Robert, youngest brother of Louis IX, the latter, pious man as he was, replied : 'Whence is this pride and daring of the pope, which thus disinherits a king who has no superior, nor even an equal, among Christians—a king not convicted of the crimes laid to his charge.'[3]

Mediaeval thought sought for the same principle of unity as religion and politics did, therefore the great thinkers of the West tried to evolve a view of the whole universe as a single system. But their schemes were based on mystical imagination rather than on observation of the physical universe. A marked feature of the thirteenth century was the filtering into men's consciousness of ideas derived from Arabic science, which passed from east to west through Sicily and Spain. At the

[1] Green, *A Short History of the English People*, p. 130.

[2] Hobhouse, *The Church and the World in Idea and in History*, p. 205, note.

[3] Cox, *Crusades*, p. 200.

same time the works of Aristotle were being made accessible in Latin translations. Therefore a group of scholars, including the two Englishmen Alexander of Hales and Grosseteste, were busy marshalling this new knowledge and making it widely accessible. From their midst came the first attempts at a completely new method of approaching the problems of existence. Albertus Magnus, the great scholastic lecturer at Cologne and Paris,[1] was an original observer in the field of botany.[2] The Pole Witelo had a knowledge of optics and lenses. But the great experimenter, the forerunner of the modern scientist, was Roger Bacon, who at Paris came into contact with Peter of Maricourt, inventor of a pivoted compass with divided circle, of whom he wrote: 'Through experiment he gains knowledge of natural things, medical, chemical, indeed of everything in the heavens or earth.'[3] As a young man, Bacon dared to give Henry III advice under the form of a riddle: 'Lord king, what most frightens sailors when crossing the sea?' The king replied: 'They know best'; to which Roger made answer: 'I will tell you, sire. Rocks and stones' (Pierre des Roches).[4] As an older man, he wrote of the expense of instruments, of the danger of their rusting, and of the difficulty of moving them from place to place without breaking.[5] His discovery of gunpowder was based on the chemistry of the subject, and he even worked out a plan for a flying machine.[6] Immense progress was made in medical knowledge at Salerno and Bologna.

[1] Cavanagh, *Life of St. Thomas Aquinas*, pp. 48–9.
[2] Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilization*, pp. 139–40.
[3] Bridges, *Roger Bacon*, pp. 21 and 24, note.
[4] Johnstone, *A Hundred Years of History*, p. 31.
[5] Colby, *Selections from the Sources of English History*, p. 86.
[6] Hearnshaw, *Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilization*, p. 143.

Another feature of the century was the last flicker of interest in the crusades, fanned by the pope on various occasions, and later on used as a means for extorting money by granting release from crusading vows.[1] The fifth crusade led to the foundation of the Latin empire at Constantinople and stimulated the expansion of Venice in the Eastern Mediterranean. The last emperor of that short-lived empire spent his days in begging from court to court, and as a last resort bartered away the sacred relics still left in Constantinople, in spite of the awful scenes of destruction and sacrilege that had marked its capture in 1204. In 1238 he visited England to seek help from the king, was kindly received and departed with 700 marks.[2] To the king of France he sold the Crown of Thorns for 10,000 silver marks; it had been lodged with a rich Venetian as pledge for a loan and was to become his property, if not redeemed.[3] As Baldwin was utterly unable to pay the debt, Louis IX paid it for him and then accepted the Crown of Thorns as a gift. Two Dominicans were sent to receive the wooden box stamped with the seals of the doges and barons of Roumania, enclosing a silver shrine, within which was a gold vase containing the sacred object. The emperor granted a free passage through his domains for the precious relic. The king and court of France went to meet the messengers at Troyes, and Louis himself, barefooted and in his shirt, bore the sacred trophy through the streets of Paris. There may still be seen the beautiful chapel built on purpose to house the sacred treasure.[4] This chapel was the object of Henry III's

[1] Matthew Paris, ii, p. 330.

[2] *Ibid.*, i, p. 125; *Historia Minor*, ii, pp. 406–7; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 226.

[3] Gibbon, vi, pp. 436–7.

[4] The Sainte Chapelle.

envy on his visits to Paris. 'There is a chapel in Paris that I covet. I will have it carried straight to London in a rolling cart.'[1] But Henry had his turn. A certain brother of the Temple arrived in London in 1247 with a handsome crystal vessel, containing what was certified to be a portion of the blood of Jesus Christ, shed on the Cross for the salvation of the world.[2] The king bade his nobles meet him at St. Paul's on the 13th October, and after preparing himself by prayer and vigil, and by fasting on bread and water, he went to St. Paul's to carry the precious relic to the abbey of Westminster. He was accompanied by a throng of bishops and monks, chanting and weeping for joy. Attended by priests with crosses and tapers, the king bore the precious relic through the streets and never took his eyes off it save to raise them to heaven, while two assistants supported his arms. Arrived at Westminster, he bore the treasure through the palace and the church before presenting it to the abbey. Then the bishop of Norwich celebrated Mass and preached a sermon on the blood of Christ. But some doubted, so the aid of Grosseteste was called in to still their doubts; he did not prove the genuineness of the relic, but contented himself with trying to prove its possibility.[3] So true was it that social life in the middle ages rested almost entirely on religion.[4]

But the chief crusade of this era was that of Louis IX, who vowed on a bed of sickness to take the cross, if he recovered, so that his mother was torn between joy at his recovery and sorrow at his resolution.[5] At the

[1] *Political Songs*, p. 67.

[2] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 343; Matthew Paris, ii, pp. 239 42.

[3] Matthew Paris, *Historia Maior*, vi, Additamenta, pp. 138-44; Stevenson, *Grosseteste*, pp. 263-5.

[4] Luchaire, *Innocent III et les Albigeois*, p. 36.

[5] Joinville, p. 163.

Christmas of the following year, 1245, he enrolled many of his knights by a pious deceit. When they appeared at the early Mass, they found a cross of fine gold-work sewn on to the cloaks which the king presented to them as his Christmas gift. Making the best of it, they called him a new fisher of men.[1]

The strength of religion showed itself also in the sudden uprising and speedy growth of the two orders of friars. Dominic the Spaniard was returning from Rome through France with his superior the bishop of Osma. Near Montpellier he met the Cistercian monks whom he was to assist in the conversion of southern France from heresy. They were despondent at their failure to win the austere heretics. But they carried with them the seeds of their own failure: brilliant escorts rode with them from town to town, and yokes of oxen drew the wagons containing their clothes and provisions. No wonder men exclaimed: 'See the ministers of a God who went only on foot, riding; see the wealthy missionaries of a God who was poor; see the envoys of a God who was humble and despised, loaded with honours.' 'Drive out one nail by another', exclaimed Dominic, as he scourged himself and practised every possible austerity.[2] His preaching in Languedoc was only partly successful; but when he was at Rome in 1217, he saw a vision of St. Peter and St. Paul giving him a staff and a book and bidding him preach. Then he beheld his disciples scatter over the world two by two. Before his death, his dream was largely realized, and his followers became the preaching order of the church.

But, in that as in all ages, the world needs example as well as precept. If Dominic supplied the latter,

[1] Matthew Paris, ii, pp. 127–8.

[2] Guiraud, *Saint Dominic*, p. 25.

Francis supplied the former. Renouncing his earthly father, that henceforth he might say nothing but 'Our Father, which art in heaven', and flinging off the clothes he wore that he might keep absolutely nothing belonging to his father, he was sheltered under the bishop's mantle, until the rough frock of a labourer was hastily found for him.[1] As he strove to follow literally Christ's counsels of poverty, he attracted to himself a few like-minded followers, won the approval of the pope, and by a life of the most devoted service to others gained both the love of the people and many members for his order. In England his order spread rapidly, in spite of the rough treatment meted out to its first members. After the monks of Fécamp had kindly brought them across the sea, they asked for entertainment at a nobleman's house near Dover, but were locked up for the night and in the morning accused of being spies. Thereupon one friar offered his cord: 'If you take us for robbers, here is a halter ready to hang us with.' But men so ready to die could not be wicked, therefore they were released.[2] As two of them were travelling to Oxford, they were lost in a wood near Abingdon, and sought hospitality and shelter from the wild beasts in a grange of that monastery. But, either from disappointment that they were not jongleurs or jealousy of their true character, they were thrust out. However, one monk had pity on them and bade the porter send them into the hay-loft, where he brought them bread and beer.[3] Soon they established their cells in the towns among the poor, and won them by a life of charity and poverty. Following the example

[1] Oliphant, *Francis of Assisi*, pp. 30 2; Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, pp. 60–2.

[2] *Monumenta Franciscana*, i, pp. 631–2.

[3] Green, *A Short History of the English People*, pp. 149–50; *Monumenta Franciscana*, i, pp. 632–3.

of their founder, who had won the surly leper by his tender nursing,[1] they took lepers under their special care. At Cambridge a carpenter erected their tiny chapel in a single day from fourteen pairs of planks.[2] But ere long the order departed from the strict example and commands of their founder. 'I am your breviary, I am your breviary', he exclaimed to a young novice, who had asked for a psalter.[3] When he entered Bologna, he refused to acknowledge the splendid building erected for his brethren. To soothe his indignation, even the sick were carried out of it on the shoulders of the strong and laid in the fresh air.[4] Nevertheless at Oxford the Grey Friars became noted for their learning in theology and medicine: the one branch of knowledge helped them to preach those pithy homilies, to which the people listened with eager mind in days when a parish priest might hold his benefice fifty years without once composing a sermon;[5] the other branch aided them in relieving the sick. Within a few years, the houses of the friars vied with those of the older monastic orders in magnificence and possessions.

In European history, the two main lines of force were the various crusades set in motion by the westward movement of the Mongols and the Tartars, and the struggles between the pope and the emperor. Genghis Khan became emperor of the Mongols about 1206 and first turned his arms against the Chinese. But the murder of three ambassadors and one hundred and fifty merchants at Otrar on the Jaxartes led him to attack the

[1] *The Little Flowers of St. Francis*, pp. 74–7.

[2] *Monumenta Franciscana*, i, pp. 17, 18.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. xxx–xxxi.

[4] Oliphant, *Francis of Assisi*, pp. 182–3; Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, p. 240.

[5] Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars*, p. 86.

Carizmians; when these were beaten, they retired westward and captured Jerusalem in 1243.[1] This led to attempts to revive the crusading ardour. The united hosts of Mongols and Tartars sacked Kiev in 1240 and conquered the greater part of Russia. The inhabitants of northern Europe were so afraid of their attacks that they did not venture to come to England, as usual, to buy their store of winter herrings; consequently, these fish were very cheap in England, even in places situated far from the sea.[2] Their attacks on Poland and Hungary were finally checked at Olmütz and Neustadt. The chief successes against the infidels were not won in the Holy Land, but in Spain. James the Great of Aragon brought peace into the troubled waters of the Cortes in 1229, when he proposed to attack the Balearic Isles and either convert their inhabitants to the Christian faith or destroy them.[3] The aged archbishop of Tarragona declared that now at last his eyes had seen the salvation of the Lord, and offered his men and money. The main expedition reduced Majorca; Minorca surrendered, and the archbishop won Iviça for himself. When the Christian Spanish host were led by a shepherd along a path over the Sierra Morena instead of through the defiles, where the Moors were waiting, they were enabled to win the famous victory of Las Navas de Tolosa on the 16th July 1212, and to inaugurate the crusade against the Moors.[4] By the end of Henry III's reign the Moors were confined within the narrow limits of Granada. The real influence of the crusades on Europe lay in the contact of east and west, in their interchange of ideas and commo-

[1] Hassall, *European History*, says 1243, p. 68; Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, says 1244, p. 457.

[2] M. Paris, i, p. 131.

[3] Davis, *Mediaeval Europe*, pp. 194–5.

[4] Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, p. 472.

dities, and in the increase of refinement and comfort adopted by the west. Visible results may still be seen in the windmill,[1] the damson, the ranunculus, the mulberry tree, the weaving of silk and linen in figures, and the imitation of Tyrian glass at Venice.[2]

The struggle between empire and papacy was actuated by papal anxiety concerning the vast empire of Frederick II, who was not only emperor with extensive influence in Germany, but also king of Sicily and ruler of nearly all Italy. The papal power was in danger of being crushed between the upper millstone of Lombardy and the nether millstone of Naples, therefore peace was impossible between the worldly papacy and its former ward. A child of the gay and sunny south, Frederick was but an indifferent son of the Church. Master of several languages and steeped in the best learning of his day, he saw too much good in the Arab philosophers to be an ardent crusader, and too much self-seeking in the papacy to be a good Catholic. Under him the government of Sicily was almost ideal; all classes were equal before the law and none were oppressed.[3] In 1235 his marriage to Isabella, sister of Henry III, brought him into close contact with England. When his envoys first saw the beautiful princess in the hall of Westminster, they hailed her spontaneously with the cry: 'Long live our empress!' The artistic king lavished upon his sister gifts worthy of an empress. A golden crown of skilful workmanship bore figures of the four kings of England who had been martyrs or confessors; besides this, there were rings and collars set with gems, silken robes, a magnificent bed, and cooking vessels of silver. The

[1] *Royal Letters*, i, p. 289.
[2] Duclaux, *A Short History of France*, p. 69.
[3] Greenwood, *Empire and Papacy in the Middle Ages*, pp. 145 6.

journey from Westminster to Cologne through Sandwich and Antwerp was one long scene of festivity, as everywhere processions met the princess with music and song. Ten thousand citizens of Cologne adorned with flowers and palms welcomed her on horseback with clashing spears; in that city she won great popularity by removing hat and veil in order that her features might be clearly seen. On account of the noise in the city, she remained outside the walls for several weeks and was then escorted to Worms and married to Frederick II, who then sent back her escort with the exception of her governess, Margaret Bisset, and her London maid noted for her skill in gold embroidery. The escort took with them three leopards, described by the chronicler as being very like greyhounds.[1]

The thirteenth century saw the development of the mediaeval university. Padua, Naples, and Sienna were founded within the first half of this century, while the latter half saw the commencement of the distinctive colleges at Oxford. When a quarrel took place between the scholars of the university and the inhabitants of St. Marcel at Paris, Queen Blanche ordered the ringleaders to be punished; but this led to such interference with the students that the masters of the university suspended all lectures and disputations.[2] Henry III then wrote to express his sympathy with them and to offer a refuge anywhere they liked in England.[3] Only a few months previously, there was a similar disturbance at Oxford, when the rioters broke into the lodgings of the students and the city was consequently laid under an interdict by the bishop of the diocese. At length it was

[1] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 44-50; *Historia Minor*, ii, pp. 378-81.
[2] *Historia Minor*, ii, p. 308.
[3] Salter, *Mediaeval Archives of the University of Oxford*, pp. 17, 18.

agreed that the property stolen from the lodgings should be restored and fifty marks given to be divided among the poor scholars.[1] When the citizens murdered a clerk in 1248 the king took the town into his own hands and made the inhabitants pay a fine of eighty marks.[2] In 1256 he ordered that the rents of houses occupied by scholars should be reassessed every five years,[3] and in 1265 that clerks studying there should not be placed on assizes and juries.[4]

In the south of France, in Germany, and in Iceland, poets were beginning to write in the vernacular and sow the seeds from which have sprung the flowers of modern national literatures in the tongue of each land. England was less affected by this than by most of the movements of the age. But another impulse of the age moved her as deeply as any of her neighbours. In France the cathedrals of Amiens and Chartres, in Germany the choir of Cologne Cathedral, in Italy the baptistery of Pisa Cathedral, were begun and completed during the century; in England the year 1220 saw the commencement of Salisbury Cathedral, of which Robert of Gloucester wrote: 'There was no fairer work in Christendom'.[5] In the same year Walter of Colchester, sacrist of St. Albans, and Elias of Durham, canon of Salisbury, wrought the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury with wonderful skill.[6] The patriotic archbishop Langton presided over the ceremony of the translation of the relics of St. Thomas from the crypt to this new shrine at the back of the high altar.[7] The ceremony

[1] Dunstable, pp. 109–10.
[2] Salter, *Mediaeval Archives of the University of Oxford*, p. 19, note.
[3] Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[5] Robert of Gloucester, ii, l. 10,669.
[6] Ramsay, *The Dawn of the Constitution*, p. 24, note.
[7] Rymer, i, pp. 153–4.

was one of the most wonderful ever seen, even in the Middle Ages, and people came from all parts of Europe to witness it; the monastery of Canterbury found itself in debt for many years through the expenses.[1] In that year, on the eve of Pentecost, Henry III laid the foundation stone of the new Lady Chapel at Westminster.[2] The king presented the prior with the golden spurs made for his coronation towards the cost.[3] In 1243–4 preparations were begun for the rebuilding of the Norman church at Westminster; the sheriff of Kent was ordered to provide one hundred barges of grey stone,[4] and in 1244–5 to prevent stone being taken to London for any other purpose.[5] In January, 1245, the greater part of the old church was pulled down and the new work begun soon after.[6] Payments were made by Odo, the goldsmith, and later by his son Edward[7]; the king's masons in charge of the work were Master Henry, then Master John of Gloucester,[8] and finally Master Robert de Beverley. In 1249 John of St. Omer was ordered to make a lectern for the new chapter-house, finer than the one at St. Albans, if possible. Among the painters were William of Florence and Peter of Spain; the altar-piece in the chapel of St. Faith in the abbey is probably the work of the former. The choir aisles were adorned with beautiful shields of arms of some of the great barons of the reign, among them that of Simon de Montfort.[9] In 1241 the king caused to be made a shrine of pure gold and precious

[1] Waverley, pp. 293–4.
[2] *Flores Historiarum*, ii. p. 170.
[3] Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and Craftsmen*, pp. 107–8.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 151.
[6] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 289-90; M. Paris, ii, p. 62.
[7] Lethaby, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
[8] Roberts, *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, pp. 283, 339, 342, 459-1.
[9] Lethaby, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

stones; and in 1244 the queen gave an image of the Virgin together with an emerald and a ruby. In 1253 glass was being given out from the stores and fixed at the rate of fourpence a foot for white glass and eightpence for coloured.[1] Nor was Henry's generosity limited to Westminster. As Prior Gerard continued the building of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, the king gave £80 towards the expense in two instalments.

[1] Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and Craftsmen*, p. 299.

STEPNEY PUBLIC WHITECHAPEL LIBRARIES

CHAPTER II

THE FOREGROUND

When King John died at Newark on the 19th October, 1216, from illness caused by a surfeit of peaches and new cider,[1] his body was buried at Worcester, as directed in his will.[2] His friends then proceeded to Gloucester, where they held a council, as a result of which Thomas of Sandford was sent to fetch the boy King Henry III from his tutor at Devizes. But William, earl of Pembroke, met him at Malmesbury and escorted him to Gloucester, where he was knighted on the 27th October and crowned on the 28th October. Standing before the high altar in St. Peter's Abbey, the little king swore on the Holy Gospels and the relics of many saints to be loyal to God, to do justice to his people, to do homage to the Church of Rome and Pope Honorius III for England and Ireland, and to pay a thousand marks yearly to Rome. In the evening, the usual banquet was held.[3] As it was impossible to procure the royal crown, a thin circlet of gold was used instead. To keep up their courage, all who acknowledged Henry III's title were asked to wear a garland on their heads.[4] For Louis of France and his party held many castles and much land. But Pembroke, whom the council appointed guardian of king and realm, was staunch, and the pope caused his legate Gualo to take vigorous steps against the foreign party. Lincoln Castle was relieved on the 20th May, 1217, and the forces

[1] Davis, *England under Normans and Angevins*, p. 389.
[2] Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i, p. 5.
[3] Robert of Gloucester, ii, ll. 10,560-71; *Wendover*, ii, pp. 197-8.
[4] Pearson, *History of England*, ii, p. 111.

occupying the city were utterly routed; they had marked their journey northward by indiscriminate plundering, and the survivors were now cut off mercilessly as they straggled southward.[1] The terrible sea-rover Eustace the monk was met off Dover on the 24th August by Hubert de Burgh, whose sailors quickly gained the weather gauge, flung lime in the faces of the French mariners, boarded their vessels, cut the shrouds so as to bring down the sails on top of the crew, and then cut down the Frenchmen. The English bowmen did deadly execution on the foe, while the iron beaks rammed the hostile vessels. Richard, bastard son of King John, dragged Eustace from the hold of the vessel and slew him.[2] Peace was concluded at Lambeth on generous terms,[3] and the City of London lent Louis the sum of £5,000 for the expenses of his return.[4]

Gradually the land was restored to order. Money was borrowed on the security of the crown jewels, and the king provided with a seal of his own.[5] Some of the barons went off to join the crusaders at Damietta.[6] In 1219 judicial circuits were resumed,[7] but without the use of the ordeal, as it had been forbidden by the Lateran Council of 1215.[8] Pembroke was taken ill, conveyed by water from London to his manor of Caversham, where he died on the 13th May, and was buried in the Temple Church three days later.[9] Hubert de Burgh now assumed the direction of affairs. The most serious troubles of these early years of the reign were caused by turbulent barons and Llewelyn of Wales. In 1220 William, Earl of Albemarle, son of a Poitevin adventurer from Oléron,

[1] *Wendover*, ii, pp. 209–10 and 219.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 221–3.
[3] Rymer, i, p. 148.
[4] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, p. 224.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 231.
[6] *Wendover*, ii, p. 235.
[7] Robert of Gloucester, ii, ll. 10,646–7.
[8] Rymer, i, p. 154.
[9] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 231–2.

was deprived of Rockingham Castle and ordered to restore Bytham Castle to its former tenant. In January, 1221, he threw himself into Bytham and plundered the surrounding country; then suddenly he marched south and seized Fotheringay. But an army was raised against him. He sought sanctuary at Fountains, while his followers yielded up Fotheringay, but held out at Bytham. Finally he submitted and was pardoned. In 1222 the men of London proved their superiority in a great wrestling match, to the annoyance of the steward of the Abbey of Westminster, who offered a ram as a prize in another match to be held on the 1st August. But he gathered strong men in order to win the victory, and, when this was doubtful, drove back the Londoners by force. A tumult arose in the city: different voices gave different advice. Serlo, the mayor, a prudent and peaceful man, was for an appeal to the abbot of Westminster; but Constantine Fitz-Athulf, an important citizen, raised the cry: 'Mont-joy! Mont-joy! may God help our lord Louis!'[1] He carried the majority with him, and the mob attacked the abbey buildings. For this, by the direction of the justiciar, he was promptly seized and hanged by Fawkes de Bréauté.[2] In 1224 the latter seized land belonging to John Marshal and flung his bailiff into prison.[3] When the itinerant justices came to Dunstable, they found no less than sixteen writs against Fawkes for seizing the lands of other people.[4] In his insolent anger, Fawkes sent instructions to his brother William, who was then holding Bedford Castle for him, to dispatch soldiers to seize the judges and prevent the holding of the court.

[1] *Wendover*, iii, p. lxxviii.

[2] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 176; *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 251-2; *Wendover*, ii, pp. 265-7.

[3] *Royal Letters*, i, p. 222.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, p. 225.

They seized one of the judges, Henry de Braybrook, and carried him off to Bedford Castle. As the royal court happened to be then at Northampton, the wife of the judge went to the king and with eyes full of tears demanded redress. The feeling of the great barons assembled there was against such an act of violence, so an army was immediately gathered to besiege the castle. After holding out for nearly two months, it was taken by means of a wooden tower which the king's carpenters constructed to overlook the walls. The king had sworn to hang all the prisoners taken, but three were found to be Templars, so they were hung up in order that the king might keep his oath, but were not allowed to die, that they might fight again in the Holy Land.[1] The pope pleaded in vain for Fawkes de Bréauté.[2] By the judgement of his peers, assembled at Westminster, it was agreed that he ought not to lose his life, on account of his faithful service to the king and his father during many years, but he must abjure England for ever. William, earl of Warenne, was commanded by the king to conduct him to the coast and there to see him on board a vessel.[3] After many wanderings he died at St. Cyriac.[4]

In 1218 Llewelyn, prince of North Wales, was summoned to Worcester to do homage to the new king, and orders were issued for his safe-conduct on both journeys. But he proved himself a fickle neighbour and an unstable vassal. In 1223, when the earl of Pembroke was absent in Ireland, Llewelyn captured two of his castles and beheaded all the prisoners. Hastily returning and gathering a large army, the earl recaptured his castles and did

[1] *Dunstable*, pp. 86-9; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 180-1; *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 262-5; Rymer, i, pp. 175-6; *Wendover*, ii, pp. 278-82.
[2] *Royal Letters*, i, pp. 543-5, and 547; Rymer, i, p. 176.
[3] *Wendover*, ii, p. 285.
[4] *Dunstable*, p. 89.

the like to his Welsh captives. Then followed mutual raids and reprisals.[1] In 1228 the soldiers of Montgomery Castle went out to clear and widen a road through a wood as a defence against Welsh robbers, whereupon the Welsh attacked and confined them to their castle. The king and the justiciar marched to their relief, cleared the wood and commenced to erect a castle in the vale of Kerry, to the west of Montgomery. But some of the English lords were in league with Llewelyn, and the soldiers suffered from lack of food. William de Braose, lord of Brecon, was captured while seeking provisions. Finally, peace was concluded on the terms that Henry should demolish his castle, henceforth known as 'Hubert's Folly', and that Llewelyn should pay a fine of a thousand cows towards the king's expenses.[2]

In spite of the king's youth and the troubles alluded to, the party of loyalty and order steadily gained the upper hand. The real troubles of this reign do not belong so much to the earlier years as to the period of the king's personal rule. In January, 1227, at a council held at Oxford, the king declared himself competent to rule the country and threw off the tutelage of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. The latter at once went off to fulfil his crusading vow and spent four years in Palestine,[3] where his military talents had more scope than in his bishopric.[4] Nature made him a soldier: fate made him a bishop. The death of the 'Peace-maker', Honorius III, led directly to the accession of Gregory IX and indirectly to trouble in England. Both these popes urged Frederick II to fulfil his promise to go on

[1] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, p. 255.

[2] *Dunstable*, p. 110; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 192; *Wendover*, ii, pp. 349-50.

[3] Tout, *Political History*, iii, p. 28.

[4] *Wendover*, ii, p. 212.

a crusade,[1] and he was even reproached for the fall of Damietta. In 1227 he set sail from Brindisi, but returned soon owing to illness and was at once excommunicated by Gregory IX. The two were never really friends again, in spite of hollow reconciliations such as that patched up at San Germano. 'I will remember the past no longer', exclaimed Frederick: 'the Emperor has come to seek me with the zeal of a devoted son', replied Gregory.[2] In reality neither trusted the other. But quarrels are expensive, if they lead to action, and Gregory's age was no impediment to vigorous action. In 1229 Stephen, the papal nuncio, arrived in England and read to a council assembled at Westminster the papal letters demanding a tenth from both lay and ecclesiastical property. All looked to the king for help in resisting this demand, but he proved a broken reed. Then the nobles and laity refused, but the clergy consented from fear of excommunication. The tenth was exacted with the utmost rigour from all forms of income without any allowance for debts or expenses. The nuncio required it to be paid in money of full weight and recent coinage, and even demanded a tithe of the fruits of the coming autumn. Some prelates were compelled to sell or pledge the very vessels of the altar.[3] In addition to this, foreign clergy were intruded into English benefices, without any intention on their part to do the work, and with no respect on the pope's part for the rights of the lawful patrons. In 1231 and 1232 the opposition came to a head. A secret society was formed and issued letters forbidding the payment of any dues to foreign clergy. When a synod was held at St. Albans,

[1] Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, p. 364.
[2] *Dunstable*, p. 125; Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, p. 369.
[3] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 315–17; *Wendover*, ii, pp. 377–8.

armed men with veiled faces seized the Roman Cincius, Canon of St. Paul's, and detained him for five weeks, but afterwards released him safe and sound with only the loss of his saddle-bags. At the same time John the Florentine, archdeacon of Norwich, fled and lay hid in London for many days. In the following year, a small party of armed men seized the barns of the Roman vicar of Whippingham, sold their contents and gave part of the proceeds to the poor. When they were challenged by the sheriff, they produced royal letters of protection. Further, two papal messengers were attacked, one cut to pieces and the other left half-dead, while their letters were destroyed and the papal bulls trampled under foot.[1]

Archbishop Stephen had died in 1228; in his place the monks of Canterbury elected one of their own number, Walter of Eynsham. The king refused him on account of his doubtful antecedents; then he appealed to the pope and went to Rome, where, on examination by three Cardinals, he answered very badly, did not know whether 'Rachel mourning for her children' was dead or alive at the time, and was rejected. Henry's envoys then recommended Richard, Chancellor of Lincoln, surnamed Grant[2] from his stature, and he was consecrated. In 1231 he complained to Henry III that Hubert de Burgh was unlawfully keeping from him the Castle of Tonbridge; but the king supported the justiciar, so the archbishop went to Rome to prosecute his case there, and doubtless to represent Hubert as the author of the recent attacks on foreign ecclesiastics and their property.[3]

The return of Peter des Roches from Jerusalem in

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 128; *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 337–8; Rymer, i, pp. 203–4; *Wendover*, iii, pp. 16–20.

[2] Compare the French word 'grand'.

[3] *Dunstable*, pp. 116 and 125 6; *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 302, 309–11, 329–30.

1231 brought to bear upon the king an influence adverse to Hubert de Burgh. He was made the scapegoat for the failures in France and Wales as well as for the opposition to the foreign clergy. On the 29th July, 1232, the king dismissed him. Peter des Roches resumed his power over Henry III; offices were bestowed with lavish hand upon his son or nephew, Peter of Rivaux,[1] while Stephen Segrave, a mere lawyer, became justiciar. These new royal advisers at once brought over a host of foreign mercenaries to aid them in holding their gains. The first move was to ruin the late justiciar. He was ordered to account for all his receipts, even those of the days of king John, for which he held that king's charter to prove his faith in the honesty of his servant; he was accused of poisoning various nobles, and the Londoners complained that he had unjustly put to death Constantine Fitz-Athulf. Realizing that there was neither justice nor mercy for the fallen, he took refuge with the canons of Merton in Surrey. The mayor of London set out with a body of armed citizens to fetch him back; but the earl of Chester warned the king of the danger of inciting public risings, so their march was countermanded. Through the intercession of archbishop Luke of Dublin, Hubert obtained a respite to the January of 1233 to prepare an answer to the charges against him. Then he set off to join his wife at Bury St. Edmunds, and broke his journey at Brentwood; but the king's anger blazed forth on hearing of this journey and he sent soldiers in pursuit. Being warned, Hubert hastily rose from bed and fled to a chapel near by, where they found him holding a cross in one hand and the sacred elements in

[1] This Poitevin is properly called by French historians Pierre d'Airvault (de Orivallis), but is known in English History as Peter of Rivaux. Bémont, p. 114, note.

the other; notwithstanding, they dragged him out, bound him with fetters and took him to the Tower of London. When they summoned a poor smith to rivet the fetters on him, he refused: 'As God lives, I will never fetter him who has so often freed England'. When the bishop of London heard of the act of sacrilege, he compelled the king to restore Hubert to his sanctuary; but the sheriffs of Essex and Hertford received strict orders to prevent his escape, so that hunger at last forced him to surrender, and he was once more confined in the Tower.[1] Finally, after Henry had received his treasures stored in the New Temple, he had pity on the faithful servant of his family, accepted four great earls as his sureties, and sent him into honourable confinement at the castle of Devizes.[2] In the following year, Peter des Roches plotted to obtain possession of that castle, with the intention, as was believed, of getting rid of his rival. Two of his faithful attendants warned Hubert of his danger and helped him to escape. He took refuge in the parish church, but was again dragged from sanctuary, until the bishop of Salisbury took up the matter vigorously and had him replaced in the church, whence a band of friends rescued him and carried him off to Wales.[3] Finally, he was reconciled to the king at Gloucester on the 29th May, 1234, when he appeared before him bareheaded, barefooted, ungirt, with arms naked to the elbow; falling at the king's feet, he begged for mercy until the fainting king, upheld by two faithful attendants, gave him the kiss of peace and restored his lands.[4]

Meanwhile trouble had been brought on the realm and disgrace on the king by the unjust treatment of Richard

[1] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 343-9 and 351-2; *Wendover*, iii, pp. 31-8.
[2] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 350–1; Rymer, i, pp. 207-8, and 210.
[3] *Dunstable*, pp. 129 and 137-8; *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 359-61.
[4] Robert of Gloucester, ii, ll. 10,821–33; Rymer, i, p. 211.

Marshal, who became earl of Pembroke on the death of his brother in 1231. He was refused possession of his estates[1] until he began to raise forces in Pembroke and Ireland, when Henry III yielded in order to keep the peace. But the king's heart was unchanged, and he paid no heed to the warning of Robert Bacon at Oxford.[2] His advisers counselled him to crush the rebellion with the aid of foreign mercenaries. Richard Marshal set out for Westminster in 1233, but was warned by his sister Isabella, wife of the king's brother Richard of Cornwall, that Peter des Roches was plotting against him; at once he turned his horse and fled to Wales, where he made a close alliance with Llewelyn, defeated the king at Grosmont and ravaged the lands of all foreigners. In his wrath, the king swore never to make peace with him, unless he fell on the ground before him with a rope round his neck. As Richard could not be beaten in honest fight, he must be entrapped by treachery. He was lured to Ireland, betrayed by his own men, and overpowered by overwhelming forces. Even then he might have lived, but a treacherous surgeon treated his wounds so unskilfully that he died from them.[3] On hearing the news, the king burst into tears. Swift retribution followed. Peter des Roches had furthered the plot by means of letters, to which the king's signature was obtained by false pretences. The new archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Rich, elected after three failures, took the side of his countrymen against the foreigners, and persuaded Henry III to dismiss the worldly bishop of Winchester to his diocese.

[1] Rymer, i, p. 199.

[2] Johnstone, *A Hundred Years of History*, p. 31.

[3] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 361 2, 364–5, 367 9; *Wendover*, iii, pp. 59–90.

But the small wave of foreign invasion was soon to be swamped by a greater and more lasting wave. Proposals for the king's marriage had been made at various times to the duke of Brittany, the duke of Austria, the king of Bohemia, and the count of Ponthieu ;[1] his marriage to the daughter of the last named had only been prevented by the opposition of the French Court. On the 14th January, 1236, Henry III was married to Eleanor of Provence at Canterbury, and she was crowned at Westminster on the 20th January. At the latter ceremony, the earl of Pembroke, as Grand Marshal, bore his wand and cleared the way before the king in the abbey and the banqueting hall ; the wardens of the Cinque Ports carried the pall over the king. London was cleansed and decked with flags and banners, candles and lamps ; while its citizens, arrayed in costly garments, brought with them 360 gold and silver cups, with which to perform their duty as butler at the wedding-feast. Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, held the basin of water for the king to wash his hands at the meal.[2] While the citizens of London passed the wine, those of Winchester had cooked the feast ; the various holders of office performed their customary tasks.[3] Amid such a gay scene, Simon de Montfort made his first public appearance in England. From this point onward, his fortunes and those of his adopted country are intertwined. Though a foreigner, he belongs to that noble band, of whom it has been well said that 'no land has owed more than England to the personal action of men not of native birth '.[4]

[1] Rymer, i, pp. 174, 176, 180, 185, 190, 216–9.

[2] Legg, *English Coronation Records*, pp. lxvii and 59-63; L. W. V. Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward*, pp. 82–3, says that, after the banquet, the master-cook received the steward's robe as his customary perquisite.

[3] M. Paris, i, pp. 8–10.

[4] Freeman, *William the Conqueror*, p. 1.

CHAPTER III

THE FAMILY OF MONTFORT: THE EARLY YEARS OF SIMON

HALFWAY between Chartres and Paris lies the little town of Montfort l'Amauri, and near by rises the little hill, the 'strong mount', from which the family of Montfort took its name. Tradition connects the family with Charles the Bald, king of Neustria and Burgundy (843–877), and therefore through him with Charles the Great.[1] It was also connected by marriage with the dukes of Normandy, and the same connexion made its heads lords of Évreux as well as of Montfort.[2] The overlordship of Évreux passed from John of England to Philip of France by the same deed by which he granted a dower to his niece, Blanche of Castile, on her marriage to Louis of France.[3] Frequent mention of the family name occurs in the early records of England, but the persons referred to were probably members of another branch of the family.[4] Close connexion with England began when Simon the Third married Amicia de Beaumont, sister and co-heiress of Robert Fitz-Parnell, earl of Leicester.[5] Their second son was Simon the Fourth. Robert died in 1204, but his sister's son did

[1] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 64; Masterman, *The Dawn of Mediaeval Europe*, p. 205; Pauli, p. 18.

[2] Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*; Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 64; Palgrave, *Collected Works*, iv, p. 138.

[3] Rymer, i, pp. 79–80.

[4] Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, pp. 20, 22, 28, 40, 114, 179, 203; Rymer, i, p. 16.

[5] Nicolas, *Historic Peerage of England*, p. 283; Pauli, p. 20.

not receive the title till August 1206; on the 10th March, 1207, king John divided his inheritance between Simon, son of his elder sister, and Saer de Quincy, earl of Winchester, who had married his younger sister Margaret.[1] Simon de Montfort was to receive half the earldom with the Third Penny and the title, also the office of High Steward of England.[2] On the death of his grandmother Petronilla and his aunt Laurentia, their dower was also to be divided between the two earls.[3] As the king deprived Simon of the earldom before the end of 1207,[4] he probably derived no pecuniary benefit from it. This may have been caused by a debt to the Crown, since the estates were put into the hands of Robert de Ropeley to satisfy the king's claims.[5] Again, John could not be expected to regard with any favour the leader of a crusade against Raymond VI of Toulouse, husband of his sister Joanna, and in 1208 Simon was chosen as leader of the crusade against the Albigenses. In 1210 John heard rumours of a conspiracy formed against him by the barons, and of their choice of Simon de Montfort as king in his place.[6] This was probably a mere rumour, for Simon was hardly likely to abandon the substantial rewards bound to come to him from his successes in southern France, for a shadowy title to which he had no claim and which he could only hope to gain and hold by severe struggles.[7]

He had already proved himself both a brave knight

[1] Nicolas, *Historic Peerage of England*, p. 515; Pauli, p. 24.

[2] Stubbs, *History*, i, p. 373.

[3] Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, pp. 35 6; Rymer, i. p. 96.

[4] Pauli, p. 21, note.

[5] *Manners and Household Expenses*, p. viii.

[6] *Dunstable*, p. 33.

[7] Harcourt, in *His Grace the Steward*, says that he was banished from England: 'Simon vero pater ejus propter suam inobedientiam a rege exheredatus est et cum filiis suis de Anglia exulatus.' pp. 75, 193, 196, 198.

and a good Christian. He joined the fifth crusade and set sail with the host in 1202; but the relentless Venetians insisted on the conquest of Zara in lieu of the unpaid balance due to them from the crusaders for their conveyance to the East. In vain did Innocent III send his legate to forbid the attack on Zara. When its citizens beheld the armament, they offered to surrender; but, while the leaders of the crusade were in council, Simon taunted the people of Zara for their easy surrender of so strong a city; their envoys withdrew, hastened back to the city and manned its walls. After a siege of six days, the city fell, and the doge of Venice divided the spoil with his allies. The crusading host lingered there through the winter, divided between their original plan of a true crusade and an attack on the usurper of Constantinople. One party listened to Alexios pleading with them to drive away his usurping uncle and restore his father; that done, his father would supply both money and provisions for their crusade. The other party, the one more obedient to papal instructions, refused to fight against Christians; they would go only to Syria and would fight only against the heathen. Among the latter party was Simon, who hastened away to join the king of Hungary.[1]

Before long, Simon became the hero of the Albigensian crusade. In spite of the power of the Church, there were many centres of opposition, some imbued with the ancient ideas of the Manichees, others simply longing for a purer religion. The south of France was a hot-house where song and licence throve and every new idea found a resting-place. A form of heresy flourished there, combining good and bad elements. Every means had been

[1] Cox, *Crusades*, pp. 149-52; Milman, v, pp. 340 3; Pauli, p. 21; Villehardouin, *Chronicle*, p. 27.

tried to win the heretics back to the orthodox faith. The preaching of St. Dominic failed, as that of St. Bernard had failed before;[1] councils too failed; therefore resort was had to force. The feudal north was summoned to crush the pleasure-loving south.[2] When the first victory was won, the fief of Béziers and Carcassonne was at the disposal of the victors. But none would accept the spoils of massacre, until Simon de Montfort took them after a little pressing.[3] He is painted for us as a man of tall stature, broad shoulders, and remarkable vigour and suppleness of body. To bodily vigour he added both moral and spiritual excellence: for he was not only eloquent, affable, chaste and modest, but also a fervent Christian, eager to do the will of the church and to punish heresy. But he could be harsh and cruel, and was probably animated by ambition.[4] When the northern lords went back to their own lands, having won cheap release from their crusading vows, Simon remained behind, the heart and soul of the army. Winter no less than summer found him dashing from town to town, from castle to castle, giving the enemy no peace and showing an energy almost superhuman. Fear was unknown to him; he was fighting for Christ and was sustained by the prayers of the whole church. His wife Alice, daughter of Bouchard V, lord of Montmorency, was a heroine of like stamp, shared her husband's dangers and perils, took him fresh troops, held castles in his name and never lost heart even in the most difficult circumstances. Nor did she lose her womanly tenderness, for she would carry sick pilgrims on the crupper behind her.[5]

[1] Milman, v, p. 388.

[2] Duclaux, *A Short History of France*, pp. 72–3.

[3] Luchaire, *La Croisade des Albigeois*, pp. 142–4 *et passim*.

[4] Luchaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 4; Pauli, pp. 21–2, text and note

[5] Pauli, pp. 22–3.

But all that Simon did proved finally of lasting benefit only to his overlord, the king of France; even Innocent III himself was overborne by the general feeling of the Lateran Council of 1215, and did not wish to grant Toulouse to Simon.[1] As he had lived, so he died: a stone hurled from the walls of Toulouse in 1218 struck him on the head; he had just time to commend himself with his dying breath to God and the Holy Virgin.

> In fight a Mars, in looks a Paris, yet
> Like Cato too, on right and justice set.[2]

His eldest son Amaury, who had been knighted by the bishop of Orleans and thus helped to turn chivalry into a kind of sacrament,[3] lost the fortresses and lands, but retained the numerous titles borne by his father; in 1224 he gave up all his claims in southern France to Louis VIII[4] and repeated the cession to Louis IX in 1227. At the council of Bourges, held by the legate Romanus in 1226, he failed in his claim for the restoration to him of Toulouse.[5] After his last renunciation, he was known simply as constable of France, earl of Montfort and Leicester.[6] He went on the crusade headed by the count of Champagne and the duke of Burgundy. But misfortunes dogged its whole course. The papal legate forbade its leaders to go; the emperor Frederick II ordered his officers to refuse them help: when they

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 54; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 169; Milman, v, pp. 461-2; *Wendover*, ii, p. 252.

[2] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, p. 240.

[3] Luchaire, *Social France*, pp. 348-9. [4] Luchaire, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

[5] Roger de Wendover (ii, p. 300), followed by Matthew Paris, ascribed this claim for restitution to Simon. Mr. Prothero (p. 40) suspected an error, and M. Bémont (p. 4) has given evidence to prove that it was the elder brother Amaury, and not the younger Simon, who made the claim.

[6] Pauli, p. 26.

arrived at Acre, they learned that the Sultan of Egypt had seized Jerusalem.[1] In a raid against Damascus, Amaury de Montfort was taken prisoner and carried off to Cairo;[2] he died in 1241 on his return from the crusade.[3] Through his descendants the French estates of the Montfort family passed into the hands of the dukes of Brittany; when Brittany was united to France, they were absorbed into the royal estates.

The dream of vast estates in the south of France having faded away, there were now reasons for the family to see whether the English title could be turned into something more substantial than a mere name. It fell to the lot of Simon V, the fourth son of Simon IV, to succeed where his father had failed. Of the date of his birth and of his early years, nothing is known.[4] He is described as noble, valiant in arms, and very wise for his years;[5] another account describes him as tall and handsome. With one foot in England and one in France, with brilliant connexions in both countries, Simon might hope to succeed in one of these countries. Fate decided that his lot should be cast in England. On the death of Louis VIII of France, Queen Blanche became regent for her little son, the future St. Louis. Though the barons were inclined to take advantage of a minority, monarchy had fortunately become popular in France, and the common people heartily supported the regent and her son.[6] It is easy to see that Queen Blanche had to walk

[1] Cox, *Crusades*, pp. 193–4. [2] M. Paris, i, pp. 272–3.

[3] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 78, note, says that he died on his way to France, and was buried in the church of St. John Lateran at Rome. Prothero (p. 54) says that he died at Otranto. Bemont (p. 13, note) says that he died at Rome.

[4] Pauli, p. 29. [5] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 64.

[6] Guizot, *History of Civilization in France*, iii, pp. 240 1; Joinville, p. 154; Kitchin, *History of France*, i, p. 320.

warily during the early years of the regency. For some reason Simon de Montfort incurred her displeasure, either from open opposition to her plans or merely because he was so closely connected with England. She prevented his marriage to Jeanne, countess of Flanders, who became a widow in 1233, and also the countess of Boulogne.[1]

It is true that England and France were more similar in the middle ages than to-day, since both were feudal societies animated by the same principles; consequently, a French knight felt quite at home in England, or an English knight in France.[2] But the feeling of nationality was beginning to develop. It was this dawning consciousness of patriotism that led to the rejection of Louis the Dauphin in 1216–17, and the acceptance of the little Henry as lawful king of England. Another illustration of the same feeling was shown in the decree of Louis IX that 'no man can serve two masters'. Convoking an assembly of all the French nobles who held lands in England, he bade them choose between himself and the king of England. When Henry III heard of this, he took away the English lands of all his French subjects who owed allegiance to Louis, especially the Norman ones; though this was contrary to the spirit of the treaties concluded between the two kings, Louis passed it over in silence.[3]

The sister of Simon IV, Bertrade, had married Hugh, earl of Chester; their son was Ranulph, to whom king John granted the lands of Leicester in 1215, to hold for the benefit of his uncle.[4] On the latter's death in 1218, the lands appear to have been held for a while by Stephen

[1] Bémont, p. 7 and notes; Pauli, p. 29, note, and p. 30, note.

[2] Tout, *France and England*, chapter i, *passim*.

[3] Davis, *England under Normans and Angevins*, p. 433; Kitchin, *France*, i, p. 327; M. Paris, i, pp. 481–2.

[4] *Household Expenses*, p. ix.

de Segrave and Peter des Roches,[1] but eventually Ranulph resumed possession certainly of the lands and probably of the title.[2] Amaury de Montfort made unsuccessful attempts to secure the English possessions of his father, and finally renounced his claims in favour of his younger brother Simon ; but with the reservation of his rights in case his brother died without heirs.[3] Simon paid him 1,500 livres in French money for this renunciation.[4] He had already been to England to forward his claims, and the king promised him his ancestral lands as soon as they could be taken out of the earl of Chester's hands ;[5] in 1230 Simon sent an English knight, Americus de Misternun, to declare his readiness to serve Henry III, either in England or elsewhere. Therefore the king granted him a pension of 400 marks a year, until he could gain possession of the earldom of Leicester.[6] His brother had partly cleared the way by his renunciation in 1232 ; and, if his cousin Ranulf of Chester had raised any difficulty over the restoration of his lands, it was removed by his death at Wallingford on the 26th October, 1232.[7] But Henry had already received, on the 13th August, 1231, homage for all the lands held by his father, and had issued orders to the sheriff of Leicester to put him in full possession of his estates.[8] One of Simon's

[1] Pauli, p. 28, note ; Patent Rolls for 1218 and 1219.

[2] Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, p. 104.

[3] Rymer, i, pp. 205-6 ; Patent Rolls for 1230.

[4] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 66.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 65. For a list of the lands belonging to the honour of Leicester, see *Testa de Nevill*, pp. 26, 36, 86, 88, 109, 111, 122, 144. On p. 125 it also mentions Newbury as belonging to Simon and his wife jointly as part of her dower from the Pembroke estate.

[6] *Royal Letters*, i, p. 362.

[7] Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, p. 104 ; Pauli, p. 28 ; Patent Rolls for 1232 and 1236 ; *Tewkesbury*, p. 87.

[8] Bémont, p. 333 ; Roberts, *Excerpta*, i, p. 217 ; *Royal Letters*, i, pp. 401-2 ; Close Rolls for 1231.

first acts was to expel the Jews from Leicester, 'in order that they might no longer oppress the Christians who resided there unmercifully with interest'. Though the lot of the Jews was hard and feeling against them bitter, in 1231 attempts were being made to help them. Those expelled from certain estates were gathered on others and taught manual work; also, a house was founded in London for the reception of converted Jews. Simon's great-aunt, widow of the earl of Winchester, was charitably inclined to shelter them on her own lands; Robert Grosseteste, then archdeacon of Leicester, warned her of their frightful usury, and urged her to turn them to manual work instead of money-lending.[1] In the following June, the king also granted Simon all the Norman escheats within his fief.[2] In 1236 Simon caused the arrest and imprisonment of Richard Siward, though he was soon released; in the following year, he was described as one of the king's infamous counsellors, who drew down on him the reproaches of his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall.[3] When the legate Otho came to England in 1237, at the king's request, and held a council at St. Paul's in November, he was escorted to and from the cathedral by several nobles, including Simon, and by some of the king's household, armed with swords to protect him and his foreign retinue.[4] In the same year he was among the witnesses of a grant to northern merchants of permission to trade freely in England, and of a settlement of their differences by the kings of England and

[1] *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, pp. 2-4; Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 99-101.

[2] Roberts, *Excerpta*, i, p. 313, shows him to have been in possession of his lands in 1236; *Royal Letters*, i, p. 407.

[3] M. Paris, i, pp. 34 and 68.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Scotland.[1] His name appeared as a witness on several other documents about this time.[2]

Simon had made good his footing in England, and completely gained the king's favour; it remains to be seen what use he made of his position.

[1] Rymer, i, pp. 231 and 233–4.
[2] Bémont, p. 6, note.

STEPNEY PUBLIC
WHITECHAPEL
LIBRARIES

CHAPTER IV

SIMON THE COURTIER

In the year when king John had to bow to the will of the barons and grant the Great Charter of liberties, there was born to him a daughter, who received the name of his mother Eleanor, and who in course of time proved to have inherited the beauty and personal attractions, as well as the eager spirit, of her grandmother.[1] She was early deprived of both father and mother, for the former died in 1216, and the latter presently found consolation for her loss by marrying in 1220 Hugh de la Marche, son of her old lover and betrothed to her own daughter. She professed to her son that she was marrying again for his advantage, but the truth was that Hugh was molesting her county of Angoulême, and she preferred a husband to an enemy.[2] Of the upbringing of the princess, nothing is known.

The good earl of Pembroke had proved himself a faithful ruler of king and kingdom during the first three years of the minority, and was succeeded by the eldest of his five sons, who all in turn succeeded to the earldom and all died without heirs.[3] The new earl of Pembroke was not so staunch an adherent of the royal party as his father, and apparently it was not considered wise to summon him with the other barons against the earl of Albemarle,[4] though that omission may have been due to

[1] Bémont (p. 7) says that she was born about 1212, but both Prothero (pp. 42–3) and Pauli (p. 31) give 1215 as the date of her birth.

[2] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 27-8; Davis, *England under Normans and Angevins*, pp. 407-8; Robert of Gloucester, ii, ll. 10,650–1; *Royal Letters*, i, pp. 22–3; Rymer, i, p. 160.

[3] M. Paris, ii, pp. 119–22.

[4] *Royal Letters*, i, pp. 170–1.

the fact that the earl and Alice de Betun, Pembroke's first wife, were half-brother and sister. After her death, various marriages were proposed to him, which might have proved dangerous to the kingdom through the union of his vast power with that of a foreign ally. Consequently it was considered essential to secure his loyalty. Therefore he was offered the hand of the Princess Eleanor; but though the betrothal took place in 1224,[1] apparently she still remained a member of her brother's household. As a part of the conditions agreed to at an earlier date, the earl resigned the two royal castles of Marlborough and Ludgershall into the hands of the papal legate, but they were to be restored if the marriage were not concluded. Later on, the barons were inclined to think that the princess should have been reserved to serve as a pawn in the game of political chess and used to cement an alliance with a foreign country; whereupon the earl secured a mandate from the pope that either the marriage should be performed or he should be released from the contract.[2] He had already proved his ability both in Wales and Ireland, especially against Llewelyn. The actual marriage probably took place in 1229, because in that year, on the 18th October, Henry III settled five manors on Pembroke as his sister's dowry, and granted them also to her if she survived him.[3] Henry was then at Portsmouth, attended by a throng of nobles eager to take part in the expedition to France; but there were not enough ships, although Hubert de Burgh had taken special pains to secure a larger fleet than usual.[4] The king flew into a passion, rushed upon

[1] Davis, *England under Normans and Angevins*, p. 406; Robert of Gloucester, ii, ll. 10,678–80. Wykes (p. 64) says the marriage took place in 1224.

[2] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 51, and letter on pp. 445–7. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[4] Davis, *England under Normans and Angevins*, p. 413.

the earl with drawn sword, and was only restrained by Ranulf of Chester from doing him bodily harm. He declared too that the traitor had been bribed by Queen Blanche of France with 5,000 marks to prevent the sailing. The count of Brittany, who had recently arrived to guide the expedition, admitted that winter sailing was dangerous and that it would be wiser to postpone the expedition to the following spring.[1]

In 1230 the royal party set out from London for Portsmouth and kept Easter at Reading,[2] from which town Henry wrote on the 14th April to the bishop of Carlisle to forward to him in all haste his royal mantle, crown, sceptre, rod, sandals, and gloves.[3] Pembroke was present as a tried soldier, and Eleanor accompanied him. When the fleet of 300 vessels, gathered from Cologne, Flanders, and Friesland,[4] set sail, Eleanor proved a bad sailor, so they put in at Jersey at nine in the morning of the 1st May [5] and set sail again in the early morning of the following day, arriving at St. Malo on the 3rd May.[6] The expedition was a complete failure; the king spent the latter part of the time at Nantes, doing nothing but waste his treasure; the rest of the army devoted themselves to feasting and drinking after the English fashion, as though it were Christmas; some even sold their horses and armour, and then, like the prodigal, began to be in want.[7] But when the king returned home, he left behind the earls of Pembroke, Chester, and Albemarle, to support the tyrannical count of Brittany by making inroads into Anjou and Normandy.[8]

[1] *Wendover*, ii, pp. 378–9. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 383.
[3] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 55, note.
[4] Davis, *England under Normans and Angevins*, p. 413.
[5] *Royal Letters*, i, p. 364, say May 2. [6] *Wendover*, ii, p. 384.
[7] *Historia Minor*, ii, p. 327; *Wendover*, iii, p. 7.
[8] Robert of Gloucester, ii, ll. 10,720–4.

On his return from France, Pembroke crossed over to Ireland, where he possessed vast estates, some of which had been assigned as the dower of the princess.[1] In 1231 the king's brother, Richard, earl of Cornwall, married Isabella, widow of the earl of Gloucester and sister of Pembroke, but the wedding festivities were cut short by the sudden death of Pembroke on the 15th April. He was buried near his father in the New Temple.[2] This sudden calamity wrung from Henry the exclamation: 'Alas! is the blood of St. Thomas the Martyr not yet fully avenged?'[3] That Eleanor should have respected a husband so much older than herself, is easily understood in the case of a man like Pembroke, who combined in himself all the qualities of a perfect knight; but it seems clear that she loved him with the passion usually felt only for a younger man.

At first, Henry kept the Pembroke estates in his own hands, on the pretext that his sister might become a mother; when that excuse proved unfounded, he still withheld them and banished the new earl on a charge of traitorous correspondence with his enemies in France. The earl's reply was to retire to Ireland and raise troops on his Irish lands, upon which Henry III yielded and granted him full possession of his estates.[4] Looking upon Eleanor as the sister of the king who had behaved so harshly to him, and not as the widow of his brother, Richard Marshal kept for his own use the magnificent furniture of the late earl, bequeathed by him to Eleanor, and even allowed his brother's creditors to distrain the lands of Eleanor instead of his own for the debts due by the late earl.[5]

[1] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 56.
[2] Robert of Gloucester, ii, ll. 10,733-4; *Wendover*, iii, p. 10.
[3] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 57.
[4] *Wendover*, iii, pp. 13–14.
[5] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 59.

On the 16th April, 1231, the king assigned to his sister the castle of Intebergh in Kent for her residence, and sent orders to the steward and servants to receive her with due honour; he ordered three tuns of the best wines to be sent there from his cellars at Bristol, and venison from the royal forests to be supplied for her use. Orders were sent to the sheriffs of the counties, where her manors were situated, to pay their revenues to her. For the present, other manors were assigned instead of her Irish lands; but before long the arrangement was made that earl Richard should pay Eleanor £400 a year for her lands in Ireland and South Wales.[1] If the money were not duly paid, then Henry might distrain the English lands of the earl for the amount.[2] The bargain was a very profitable one for the new earl, as the lands were worth £1,300 a year.[3] In 1235 Henry remitted all claims on his sister for taxes due from her lands in Ireland.[4] While Eleanor remained in the seclusion of her Kentish castle, she also received firewood from the forest of Sevenoaks and the revenues of various fairs and markets. But she had difficulty in obtaining regular payments from the Pembroke estates, and her brother had frequently to intervene and insist on payment. Finally, the king himself became surety for the payment of the £400 yearly, and after that it was paid regularly every half-year.[5] In 1237 he granted to his sister for life the castle and manor of Odiham, in Hampshire; this castle was small but almost impregnable, as would appear from the fact that in 1216 thirteen men defended it for

[1] Roberts, *Excerpta*, ii, p. 109. [2] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 447.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60; Pauli, p. 81.
[4] Roberts, *Excerpta*, i, p. 285.
[5] Green, *Princesses*, ii, pp. 61 and 86; Madox, *Exchequer*, p. 267 and note; Patent Rolls for 1244 and 1245.

fifteen days against the whole forces of Louis. On the 25th September, 1244, the king ordered the sheriff of Hampshire to hand over to Simon de Montfort all the carts and implements received by him at Odiham from the executors of Engelard de Cigogné, and Simon was to be held responsible to the king for them.[1] Eleanor was often in debt, and the abbot of Tintern pressed her so much for repayment of his loans, that Henry III promised him that, in case of his sister's death, his claim should be satisfied before that of any other creditor.[2] She also received a loan of £1,000 from the king, but he afterwards remitted it.[3] The king assigned a pension of ten marks yearly to one of her maidens; and, at her intercession, sent a special warrant to release one of her servants. He and other servants of hers had caught men committing trespass and doing damage in a royal park; at once they attacked them, and in the struggle one of the intruders was killed. So strictly was the law against murder then enforced, that Eleanor could only help her servant by calling in the aid of her brother.[4]

On Thursday, the 7th January, 1238, the day after the Epiphany, Simon de Montfort married Eleanor, widow of the earl of Pembroke. The ceremony was performed in the king's private chapel of St. Stephen in the palace of Westminster; the king himself gave away his sister, and the service and the mass were said by the king's own chaplain, Walter. Simon was deeply in love and received his bride with great joy on account of her personal beauty, her great gifts of character, and her royal connexions.[5] It was not given to many younger sons to

[1] Roberts, *Excerpta*, i, p. 424.
[2] Rymer, i, p. 212.
[3] Roberts, *Excerpta*, i, p. 410.
[4] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 62.
[5] M. Paris, i, p. 117; Robert of Gloucester, ii, ll. 10,844–7.

marry one who was both daughter and sister of a king and sister of an empress. The royal favour shone on the happy pair, for the king forgave his sister a debt of £60,[1] presented the bridegroom with £120, and soon sent the earl of Pembroke such a stern message that arrears of £200 in Eleanor's dower were paid to her.[2] For a short time the marriage was perhaps kept secret, because in February gifts were presented to the king's almoner by each of them separately, and by Eleanor as countess of Pembroke.[3] But truth will out, and the storms of January in that year were soon matched by the outburst of feeling against the foreign upstart.[4] The king had recently promised to do nothing without the consent of his barons, and his brother, earl Richard, voiced the general indignation when he assailed Henry III for this marriage and that of Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, to Matilda de Lacy, daughter of John, earl of Lincoln.[5] On the 3rd February Richard was in arms and Henry also summoning troops, as well as writing to the barons of the Cinque Ports not to listen to his brother, but to be guided by the advice of his own chaplain, John of Gatesden, and send four men from each port to take counsel with himself.[6] The barons appeared at Southwark with horses and arms to attack the foreign bridegroom, so the latter was removed from the king's council.[7] But the legate Otho and the queen's uncle, William of Valence, used all their powers of persuasion, and earl Richard was reconciled to Simon, received his presents, and gave him the kiss of peace.[8] Once more Richard failed the barons, and proved a bending reed instead of a staff of strength.

[1] Close Rolls for 1238.
[2] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 69.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.
[4] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, p. 404; M. Paris, i, p. 117.
[5] M. Paris, i, p. 121.
[6] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 15.
[7] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 224.
[8] M. Paris, i, p. 123.

But the barons were not the only offended party. The churchmen were equally angry at the marriage, because Eleanor had taken before Edmund of Canterbury a vow not to marry again.[1]

Simon, wasted away with excess of grief at the opposition to his marriage, bowed before the storm and bestowed his wife in safety at Kenilworth Castle. Then he gathered together all the money he could, including 500 marks wrested from Simon de Curlevache, alderman of Leicester, seized a ship, and sailed for the Continent so secretly that many even of his own people did not know where he was. It was probably with reference to this action that Grosseteste warned him to be a 'pattern of mercy and forgiveness, rather than a master of cruelty'.[2] The king gave him a safe-conduct, as well as letters to the emperor and the pope.[3] The former had recently received from England the last instalment of his wife's dowry;[4] and, flushed with his recent victory over the papal partisans at Cortenuova, was now reducing the cities of northern Italy. Of these Brescia offered such a stout resistance that he had to retire with a weakened and discouraged army.[5] As Henry III sent troops and money to help his brother-in-law at Brescia under Henry de Trubleville, knight, John Mansel, clerk, William Hardel, clerk and citizen of London,[6] it is quite probable that Simon helped Frederick II at Brescia; at any rate, Frederick II is said to have given him letters

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, ii. p. 227; *Historia Anglorum*, ii. p. 403; *Wykes*, p. 65.

[2] M. Paris, i, p. 124; Pauli, p. 39, note; Stevenson, *Grosseteste*, p. 269 and note.

[3] *Household Expenses*, p. xv; Patent Rolls for 1238.

[4] Rymer, i, p. 232.

[5] Pauli, p. 33 and note; Sismondi, *Italian Republics*, p. 64.

[6] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, p. 408.

to the pope. Archbishop Edmund of Canterbury was then at Rome.[1] He who as a boy at Oxford had wedded the image of the Virgin Mary with a ring, and as a student at Paris had whipped the offending Eve who would entice him from the narrow path pointed out by his mother, who sent him forth with a hair shirt and the command to trust to Providence for food, was not likely either as man or archbishop to show any mercy to human frailty.[2] The pope had already warned him to temper zeal with moderation,[3] and did not accept his advice now. Earlier in the year, Gregory had dispensed Simon from going to the Crusades, because he was needed at home ;[4] so now, through the letters of Otho and other mediators, the pope accepted Simon's gifts,[5] granted permission for the marriage, and wrote to the legate Otho to issue a special decree for its confirmation. Nevertheless brother William of Abingdon and other learned men feared God more than man and declared vows, once taken, indissoluble. 'But the court of Rome reasoned more subtly than it is given us to comprehend.'[6]

On the 14th October Simon returned from Rome, ordered his servants to restore what they had seized from his debtors, and hastened to Eleanor at Kenilworth.[7] There, on the 28th November, his eldest son was born and named Henry after his godfather the king. Alexander, bishop of Chester, was visiting the castle on his way to London in obedience to a royal summons, and baptized the infant ; but unfortunately was taken ill the

[1] Bémont, p. 9 ; M. Paris, i, p. 117.
[2] Ward, *St. Edmund*, pp. 14–17 and 19–20.
[3] *Royal Letters*, i, pp. 558–9.
[4] Pauli, p. 41, note.
[5] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 227.
[6] M. Paris, i, pp. 130–1 ; Pauli, p. 33 and note.
[7] M. Paris, i, p. 139.

same day and died soon after.[1] At Christmas Henry sent his sister a robe of gold and silk trimmed with minever fur and feathers, a mantle of scarlet cloth, a mattress and a counterpane for her bed.

During this year (1238) the legate paid a visit to Oxford and stayed at Osney; but, when the students brought presents and called to pay their respects, they were repulsed and boiling soup flung in their faces. Even if mediaeval students had not been noted for their turbulence,[2] such an insult was not likely to pass unheeded. One student fetched a bow and shot the master cook, who happened to be the legate's own brother, doubtless in order to protect him against poison, which appears unfortunately to have been a means commonly employed then against one's enemies.[3] The legate took refuge in the tower of the abbey until he could flee to Abingdon. Peace was finally made only when the abbot and canons of Osney, with the regents of Oxford, walked through the streets of London to the legate's lodging in the palace of the bishop of Durham, without shoes, hats, belts, or coats, and humbly sued for pardon.[4]

In the same year the king had a narrow escape from death. He was staying at Woodstock, when a knight came to the royal household and gained an entrance by pretending to be a crazy jester. In the dead of night, however, he tried to find the king's chamber, in order to kill him with a knife; but one of the queen's attendants, Margaret Bisset, a devout person, happened to be reading her psalter by candle-light. When she saw the marauder, she alarmed the household with her cries and he was

[1] *Historia Minor*, ii, p. 414; M. Paris, i, p. 155.
[2] Lightfoot, *Historical Essays*, p. 162.
[3] Blaauw, *Barons' War*, p. 61; M. Paris, iii, p. 296.
[4] *Dunstable*, p. 147; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 224-5.

seized. He paid the penalty of his attempted crime at Coventry.[1]

In January, 1239, orders were given that in future the dowry of Eleanor should be paid to her husband; and, after his elder brother Amaury had been summoned from France and had once more renounced his rights, Simon was given the title of earl of Leicester.[2] He spent the spring of this year at Odiham, where he superintended the building of a new kitchen. During the vacancy in the see of Winchester,[3] the king had granted to his sister the use of the bishop's palace at Southwark, and she and her husband were living there when the king's eldest son was born on the 16th June. Four days later, Simon acted at the baptism in the twofold capacity of godfather and high steward. Costly gifts were sent to the king in honour of the memorable event. While he accepted the more valuable ones, he ordered his servants to take back the inferior presents and ask for better ones in their place; this step caused a witty courtier to remark: 'God has given us this infant, but my lord the king sells him to us.'[4] When Simon and Eleanor presented themselves on the 9th August with many other noble ladies to accompany the queen to her churching, Henry assailed Simon with a storm of abuse, accused him of dishonourable conduct towards his sister, and declared that he was an excommunicated man. They retired in confusion and withdrew to their lodging; but the king sent servants to turn them out, so they returned to Westminster and tried to soften his anger, but in vain.[5]

[1] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 412-13; *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 15-16.

[2] Bémont, p. 5; *Historia Anglorum*, ii, p. 417; M. Paris, i, p. 160; Pauli, p. 34 and note; Rymer, i, p. 203, dated wrongly.

[3] Ramsay, *Dawn of Constitution*, p. 88. [4] M. Paris, i, p. 172.

[5] Bémont (p. 7) seems to believe the accusation, but gives no evidence

Henry was always liable to sudden gusts of feeling and had been touched on a tender point. At some unknown date, Simon had borrowed 2,800 marks from the count of Brittany; when the loan should have been repaid in 1237, Simon was unable to pay, because he was very poor owing to the mismanagement of the Leicester estates for so many years. Consequently the count declared himself unable to fulfil his crusading vow, and the pope was so highly displeased that he ordered Simon to pay soon, under penalty of excommunication. To gain time, the latter gave Henry's name as security, but apparently without gaining his consent. By some means the debt passed into the hands of Thomas of Savoy, uncle of the queen; when he was unable to secure payment from Simon, he applied to Henry as surety.[1] Hence the king's outburst against Simon. Possibly he was also influenced by the following difficulty. On Palm Sunday, the pope had once more excommunicated the emperor Frederick, who was brother-in-law to Henry and Simon. As Frederick had done Simon a good turn in the previous year, it was quite possible that he might oppose the publication of the sentence in England, therefore he must be removed. At any rate, within a fortnight after the 9th August, the sentence of excommunication against the emperor was proclaimed by the papal legate at St. Albans and presently repeated at St. Paul's.[2] Leaving their infant son at Kenilworth and hastily gathering together a few possessions and attendants, Simon and Eleanor embarked in a little boat and sailed for France, until the clouds of displeasure should

beyond his view of Eleanor's character as that of a frivolous person. M. Paris, i, p. 194.

[1] Bémont, pp. 10–11 and 333; Close Rolls for 1239.

[2] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, p. 423; *Quarterly Review*, cxix, p. 31.

break and the sun of royal favour shine forth on them once more.[1]

Friends are made for adversity, and their sweetness is known by hearty counsel. Among the chief friends of Simon and Eleanor was Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln. He was born at Stradbroke in Suffolk in 1175, probably of poor parentage, which fact adds greater lustre to his accomplishments. After studying at Oxford and Paris, he became master of the schools at Oxford, and afterwards the first lecturer to the Franciscans. From 1210 to 1232 he held various archdeaconries and preferments; these he then resigned with the view of making a journey to Rome, but dropped the plan. After a serious illness, he was made bishop of Lincoln in 1235, and for the rest of his life was the most outstanding intellectual and spiritual force in England.[2] His knowledge was, for those days, encyclopaedic and anticipated modern developments in several directions. He had a wonderful knowledge of Scripture and accepted its authority as fundamental. He had some knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, and perhaps wrote a religious romance in French. He wrote on philosophy, mathematics, and natural science, and attempted a survey of the knowledge of his time. After he became a bishop, he strove indefatigably to reform the prevalent abuses; when he found religion hindered by papal exactions and provisions, he protested vigorously. At Lyons, in 1250, he denounced before the pope himself the evils from which the Church was suffering: 'The cause, the fountain, the origin of all this, is the Roman Court, not only because it does not put to flight these evils and purge away these abominations, when it alone has the power

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 151; *Historia Anglorum*, ii, p. 424.
[2] Pauli, p. 38.

to do so, and is pledged most fully in that sense; but still more because by its dispensations, provisions, and collations to the pastoral care, it appoints in the full light of the sun men such as I have described, not pastors but destroyers of men; and, that it may provide for the livelihood of some one person, it hands over to the jaws of death many thousands of souls, for the life of each one of which the Son of God was willing to be condemned to a most shameful death.' When in 1253 pope Innocent IV wished to confer a canonry of Lincoln on his nephew, Frederick de Lavagna, Grosseteste flatly refused to receive him, 'out of filial reverence and obedience'. If, as was only to be expected, the pope refused his canonization, the people of England showed their feelings towards him by the title St. Robert.[1]

Bishop Grosseteste received a letter from Simon telling him of his trouble, and at once answered it by an exhortation to his friend to bear his tribulation bravely, so that it might turn to spiritual health and temporal glory. 'Let not therefore the bitterness of temporal tribulation break, but strengthen you. For tribulation is to the just what pruning is to vines, what healthful though bitter medicine is to the sick. Do you then be true to your name; ascend by the steps of humility to the summit of the strong mountain, that is, Christ, who is the mountain above all other mountains.' He promised to intercede for him with the king and to care for all his servants, especially the two commended to him.

[1] Burton, pp. 311–13 and 436–8; Lightfoot, *Historical Essays*, pp. 166–7; M. Paris, iii, pp. 35–8; Stephens, *A History of the English Church*, ii, pp. 234–43; Stevenson, *Grosseteste*, *passim*.

CHAPTER V

SIMON THE CRUSADER AND SOLDIER

SHAKESPEARE makes the dying Gaunt say of Richard II:

For violent fires soon burn out themselves;
Small showers last long, but sudden storms are short.

This was certainly true of his ancestor, for peace was soon made between him and his brother-in-law. Of where Simon and Eleanor went, and what they did in France, there is no record; they may have gone to his ancestral home at Montfort or to Eleanor's mother, the dowager queen of England. In a few months Simon returned to England, while Eleanor remained in France for the sake of her health. On the 1st April, 1240, he was back in England to make preparations for going on a crusade. In order to raise money, he sold his woods at Leicester to the hospitallers and canons of that town for £1,000. When he left, he took with him his little son Henry, in order to leave him in France.[1]

A band of French crusaders had gone to Palestine in 1239, but had not met with great success. Richard of Cornwall was now taking an English contingent to reinforce them. In 1240 the bishops and some of the nobles assembled at Reading to hear the legate publish a message from the pope. Earl Richard and the other crusaders took leave of their friends at this council before setting out. The prelates exclaimed to the earl: 'Why

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 152; *Historia Anglorum*, ii, p. 430; M. Paris, i, p. 252.

do you desert us? In your absence, foreigners will invade us!' He replied to the archbishop: 'Had I not taken the cross, I would still go, in order not to see the evils and desolation of the kingdom, which I cannot prevent.'[1] Leaving his castle of Berkhamstead, he went to St. Albans to commend himself to the prayers of the monks, then made his way to London, where he entrusted to the king the charge of his estates and of his son Henry, after which he departed for Dover with William of Salisbury. They sailed between Ascension Day and Whitsuntide (24th May–3rd June), and called at Paris on their way through France. The pope sent a legate to meet them near Marseilles and beg them not to go; nevertheless they sailed and reached Acre on the 29th September. Within two days of his landing, Richard issued a proclamation that no crusaders need depart owing to lack of money, because he would take them into his service and pay them.[2]

Simon de Montfort went out independently of earl Richard, with the earl of Pembroke, Hugh Wake, Thomas and Gerard Furnival, and Amaury of St. Amand. They journeyed through Lombardy and Apulia to Brindisi, and the countess Eleanor accompanied her husband as far as this port, then remained at a castle near by granted for her use.[3]

During this year archbishop Edmund, distressed by the evils which he beheld in the Church and which he found himself powerless to redress, went into voluntary exile at Pontigny and died at Soissy, a priory not far

[1] M. Paris, i, p. 262.

[2] *Dunstable*, pp. 151–2; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 241; *Historia Anglorum*, ii, p. 437.

[3] Ramsay, *The Dawn of the Constitution*, p. 95. Bémont (p. 12) thinks that they left England with Richard, but separated from him in France.

distant. One chronicler pictures him standing on a hill near London, stretching forth his hand to bless his fatherland, and then cursing the woman and her future offspring. If true, this was probably meant to refer to the countess Eleanor on account of her broken vow.[1]

Saint Edmund, pure in soul and body both,
On whom this wicked world could leave no stain,
Be gracious, bow thine ear and lend thine aid,
When England seeks thy help in prayers again.[2]

Nothing definite is known of Simon's achievements in the Holy Land. But there exists a clear proof of his capacity, both as soldier and administrator, in a petition from the barons, knights, and citizens of the kingdom of Jerusalem, signed at Acre on the 7th June, 1241, and addressed to Frederick II. The emperor had married in 1225 as his second wife Iolande of Jerusalem, daughter of John of Brienne and heiress through her mother of the kingdom of Jerusalem.[3] Their son Conrad was heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem. The petition begged Frederick II to appoint Simon de Montfort governor of the land until the majority of king Conrad and his arrival there, or to send some other deputy. The earl was willing to take an oath to preserve the rights of the emperor and his son. They begged the emperor to seal this with his golden seal.[4]

In April of this year, Henry III ordered all the money possible to be collected, especially from those who had taken the crusader's vow and now preferred to redeem themselves by a money payment. The money thus

[1] *Household Expenses*, p. xiii; Ward, *St. Edmund*, p. 148; *Lanercost*, p. 39.
[2] *Waverley*, p. 327.
[3] Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, p. 366.
[4] *Household Expenses*, pp. xviii–xx.

gathered was to be forwarded to his brother with all speed by means of the Hospitallers and Templars.[1] About this time, the Dominicans and the Franciscans prevailed on many to take the cross by the promise of full remission of sins; but released them in a few days on receipt of money, and assured them that the money would reach earl Richard. Owing to his popularity, a large sum was collected, though it is doubtful whether he received any of it.[2] He had concluded a truce with the sultan and procured the release of all the French prisoners at Gaza; then on the 3rd May he set sail for Sicily, in order to visit his sister Isabella. When he arrived at Trapani, the port officials and imperial officers received him with great reverence, as they had been ordered, and conducted him to the emperor. On the way, he was received with great honour in the cities through which he passed, for their citizens welcomed him with songs and flowers. When earl Richard reached the emperor, they embraced each other mutually; then the emperor prescribed baths and blood-letting to restore Richard's strength after the voyage. After a few days, he had an interview with his sister the empress, and was entertained with games and music. But he was most struck by the skill of two Saracen girls who played music and performed many tricks while mounted each on two round balls placed on the floor. During the visit, about the 24th June, he was sent to Rome to try and make peace between the pope and the emperor; but was met with insults and found the pope so unbending that he could accomplish nothing; on his return, the emperor told him that now he knew the truth about Rome and the pope.[3] The ransomed French, who were returning home with great

[1] Rymer, i, p. 241.
[2] M. Paris, i, p. 359.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 368–71.

joy, met him on their journey; when he discovered how poor they were, he provided them with all that they needed. At the end of his visit, the emperor ordered him to be escorted to the boundaries of the empire; at Cremona the emperor's elephant came forth to meet him, carrying on its back a wooden tower with trumpeters. As he passed through France, the French nobles left him and returned joyfully home to receive a warm welcome.[1] There can be very little doubt that Simon accompanied earl Richard on the return journey and during the visit to the emperor.[2]

During Richard's absence, tin had been discovered in Germany, so that before long the value of his Cornish mines diminished, and eventually he was not so wealthy as he had been.[3] In this year Henry III had an elaborate shrine wrought for the relics of Edward the Confessor; though it was of the purest gold and set with most precious gems, costing more than 100,000 marks, yet the workmanship surpassed the materials.[4]

When Philip Augustus died in 1223, he left everything to his son, and took care not to break up France into domains. But the only vigour displayed by Louis VIII was due to his wife's prompting, and, after his short reign of three years, he undid all his father's work by leaving domains to each of his sons.[5] It was, therefore, in compliance with his father's will that, while Richard was returning home, Louis IX of France bestowed on his

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 247 9; *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 452–3; M. Paris, i, pp. 385–6; *Tewkesbury*, p. 120; *Waverley*, p. 328.

[2] Bémont thinks that he returned with the Duke of Burgundy (pp. 13 and 334); Pauli thinks that he was perhaps the bearer of the petition from Jerusalem to the emperor (p. 42), but the dates hardly fit in.

[3] M. Paris, i, p. 373. [4] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 454–5.

[5] Kitchin, *France*, i, pp. 314 and 317.

brother Alphonse the title of Count of Poitou on Whitsunday (the 19th May).[1] This title had already been bestowed by Henry III upon his brother in 1225,[2] therefore he looked upon this action as a direct insult to himself and to a knight on crusade.

Alphonse went down to his new fief and received the homage of the barons, though they preferred a distant overlord whom they could flout with impunity to one near at hand whose word must be respected. The wife of the count of La Marche, jealous of queen Blanche, was displeased that her husband should do homage to any one under a king. During the Christmas feast of 1241, when count Alphonse was holding his court at Poitiers, count Hugh appeared before him, denounced him for taking the county from Richard of Cornwall, set fire to his lodgings and galloped away. At once Hugh fortified his castles and made preparations for resistance, while king Louis determined to punish and subdue him. But his wife was the mother of Henry III, so the count wrote and begged for his help. He hinted at an alliance with Toulouse and Aragon and promised to find soldiers, if only Henry would bring the money to pay them. On Richard's return in January, 1242, Henry welcomed him back, and the Poitevins tried to stir both brothers to action. The great council was bitterly opposed to any expedition and refused to grant money, but Henry approached the barons separately and raised a larger revenue than usual. The abbot of Tewkesbury sent him twenty marks at Portsmouth.[3] During Lent the pious king went to Bury St. Edmunds and other shrines to ask a blessing on his undertaking. On the 17th April he took leave of the

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 157; M. Paris, i, p. 362.
[2] *Royal Letters*, i, p. 262; *Wendover*, ii, p. 284.
[3] *Tewkesbury*, p. 122.

city of London, as was then the custom. He set sail on the 9th May,[1] landed in Finisterre for service on the following Sunday, and finally reached Royan with 300 knights and thirty casks of money. His mother met him, kissed him tenderly and thanked him for coming. 'Sweet son, you are good-natured to come and help your mother and your brothers, whom the sons of Blanche of Spain wish to trample under their feet; but, if God will, things will not go as they think.'[2]

After a few days Henry III proceeded to Pons, whence he issued summonses to the barons of Gascony to come to his aid,[3] and sent messengers to Louis IX to announce that, unless he accepted his terms, he should annul the truce between them and commence war. On the 8th June he wrote from Saintes to warn the French king that he considered the truce between them broken;[4] at the same time he also wrote to the justiciar in Ireland to inform him of this fact and to ask for help in men and money.[5] He summoned many barons to come from England with arms and horses.[6] He also agreed to pay the count of Auvergne twelve pence a day for each of one hundred knights, for one year from the day on which he began war upon France.[7] While Henry was writing, the men of Poitou were acting. They blocked the passes into their land against the French, cut down vines and apple trees, disturbed the springs of water and even poisoned them, and destroyed everything that could serve for food or fodder to the enemy; these steps doubtless

[1] Ramsay, *The Dawn of the Constitution*, p. 101, says 'May 9 apparently', but M. Paris says May 16.

[2] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 79, note.

[3] Rymer, i, pp. 244–5.

[4] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 55–6.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 56–7.

[6] Rymer, i, p. 246.

[7] Champollion-Figeac, p. 57.

led to the pestilence which finally fell upon the French army. Louis IX quickly captured Fontenay, a castle belonging to the count of La Marche, but refused to hang the prisoners, as his knights desired, because they had only obeyed and faithfully served their lord.[1] This leniency was due, not so much to his respect for feudal rights, as to his sense of justice. A Franciscan had warned him: 'Let the king take good heed that he do justice well and speedily among his people, so that our Lord may suffer his kingdom to remain in peace all the days of his life.'[2]

The two armies met near Taillebourg, a city situated on the deep river Charente, with a strong bridge across. When the French king approached, the citizens went forth to meet him and surrendered their city; then he entered and took up his quarters in it, while his men encamped in the fields outside. The English king, guided by the count of La Marche, pitched his tents on the opposite side. When he saw the numbers of the French, he upbraided his stepfather, who in his turn threw the blame for his big promises and small performance on to his wife. As the English were in great danger and their king likely to be made prisoner,[3] his brother earl Richard laid aside his armour, took a pilgrim's staff in his hand and crossed the bridge. He was received by the French with great honour, because he had rescued many of those present from captivity in the Holy Land. For that reason and also because the day was Sunday, Louis granted him a truce for that day and night. He returned at once to his brother and whispered: 'Quick,

[1] M. Paris, i, p. 417.

[2] Guizot, *Civilization in France*, iii, pp. 248 9; Joinville, *Chronicle*, p. 149.

[3] *Dunstable*, p. 158.

quick, away from here, lest we be made prisoners'. After a hasty meal, each gathered his baggage, and at sunset the king retreated on a swift horse, followed by his host, many of whom were dinnerless. The next day the French crossed the Charente in strong force, and soon came up with the English near Saintes, whither they had retreated. A stiff fight took place in the narrow lanes among the vineyards, and the English fought so desperately that they would have gained a glorious victory but for the French superiority in numbers. Among the foremost in the fight was Simon de Montfort.[1] As the French army grew daily in numbers and the count of La Marche lost many of his castles, he approached his friend the count of Brittany and through his mediation sought the French king's favour. He was granted very hard terms, but finally accepted them. The count of Toulouse excused himself to Henry for not having come to his aid, but begged him to continue the struggle and promised to come as soon as possible. Henry now lost the favour of the citizens of Saintes by granting their city to Hugh, son of the count of La Marche, whom they detested.

A French knight, whom Earl Richard had liberated in the Holy Land, sent word secretly to him of the French king's plan to surround the English king and besiege him in Saintes. Messengers from his step-brothers arrived with the same warning just when Henry was about to have his breakfast, so he fled immediately to Blaye. The knights and soldiers followed his example in what became a disgraceful rout. Having lost their breakfast, the English sustained themselves on fir-apples and berries. From Blaye Henry fled in haste to Bordeaux; during the flight he lost his chaplet and the costly furniture of

[1] M. Paris, i, p. 422.

his chapel. While Henry was in safety with a broad river between himself and the French, pestilence weakened the French forces and Louis himself was obliged by illness to go home.[1] A truce might have been signed at once, but Henry lingered in Gascony through the autumn and winter, trying to form alliances and stir up both friends and allies to the war.[2] On July 3 he wrote from Bordeaux to warn Warine de Munchensi not to receive a hundred marks, which Simon de Montfort had agreed to pay for the ransom of a prisoner and which ought to be paid to himself; because the royal council had decided that all prisoners taken in the king's presence belonged of right to him, as in the days of his predecessors.[3] He ordered the men of Bayonne to make war on La Rochelle and to molest France in every possible way, in return for which service he granted them the first thousand marks out of their booty towards fortifying their city.[4] In October he wrote to Robert Elias of Winchelsea to make raids on the French in his vessel 'La Brett'.[5] But the count of Brittany and his Breton sailors proved themselves superior in reprisals, so that finally the men of the Cinque Ports complained to Walter Gray, archbishop of York and guardian of the realm during the king's absence, that neither could travellers return safely from France nor could their sailors even go out to fish. Because of their complaints, he was obliged to put pressure on the king to return.

In the meantime, he was wasting his time and money

[1] Joinville, pp. 160–2; M. Paris, i, pp. 394–456 *passim*; Ramsay, *Dawn of the Constitution*, pp. 101–4.

[2] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 74–8.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 58. Bémont, p. 14, note, construes the letter as a grant of the 100 marks to Simon, though it hardly says so.

[4] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 58–9; Rymer, i, p. 248.

[5] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 65–6.

with the queen and the countess of Béarn, a fat giant-like woman, 'harmful more than helpful',[1] who extorted from him all the money she could get. In their indignation, his English nobles, headed by his brother, gradually returned home; those who went back by land through France were derided by the inhabitants, while those who returned by sea only escaped with difficulty from its dangers. Among the faithful few who remained with the king was Simon. There can be little doubt that he spent his time in close observation of the land and its people, storing up details and making friendships which proved useful at a later date. But the king of Aragon and the count of Toulouse tried to influence the king against him on account of his father's deeds during his crusade against heresy.[2] By the king's orders, corn, oats, bacon, salt, and cloth, were dispatched from England for the use of his men, together with money raised by fines and a scutage.[3] On the 7th April, 1243, a truce was signed for five years.[4] In the following September Henry set sail and landed at Portsmouth on the 25th.[5] He ordered horses and carriages to be made ready for his journey to London. At Winchester the English nobles came to meet him with costly gifts, and he gave orders that the city should be adorned with garlands and tapers and that the church bells should be rung. A similar reception awaited him at London.[6]

In the same autumn Simon de Montfort also returned home and resumed his position in the king's favour, due

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 256.

[2] Bémont, pp. 15–16.

[3] *Dunstable*, p. 160; Roberts, *Excerpta*, i, p. 385.

[4] Rymer, i, p. 251. But *Historia Minor*, ii, p. 470, gives 23 April as the date.

[5] *Tewkesbury*, p. 130; *Winchester*, p. 89.

[6] *Dunstable*, p. 162; M. Paris, ii, pp. 455–6.

now not only to the ties of relationship but also to his proved skill as a soldier. In 1244 the castle of Kenilworth was formally granted to Simon and Eleanor, and became henceforth their principal residence.[1] Its manor had been granted by Henry I to Geoffrey de Clinton, his chamberlain and treasurer, and he commenced to erect Caesar's Tower. It was held alternately by the Clintons and the Crown, until Henry de Clinton, grandson of the original founder, yielded all his rights to king John. It was apparently a favourite royal residence; both Henry II and John enlarged and strengthened it. During the temporary banishment of Simon and Eleanor, Henry III stayed there with his queen and made considerable improvements. In 1235 the sheriff expended £6. 16*s.* 4*d.* on a fine boat to lie near the door of the king's chamber; in 1240, the king had the chapel wainscoted and seats erected for himself and the queen.[2] The main buildings were strong, and the principal tower, called Caesar's Tower, almost impregnable. The walls enclosed a park of forty acres, and close by was a lake covering 111 acres; while there were extensive and thickly wooded chases for hunting, stretching over twenty miles. There were a mill for the grinding of corn and a fair for the exchange of goods. The manor also had an assize of bread and ale to control their prices and qualities; there was a Court Baron for minor offences, and a Court Leet for serious crimes.

Here for some time Simon and Eleanor passed the pleasantest years of their lives, with their young family growing up around them and visitors coming and going. Various marks of the royal favour were bestowed upon

[1] Patent Rolls for 1244; Close Rolls for 1253.

[2] Clive Holland, *Warwickshire*, pp. 166-8; Green, *Princesses*, ii, pp. 81-3.

the earl. The king made him keeper of Leicester Castle, a royal fortress; he also intimated to the guardian of the Jews that he had remitted a debt of £110 11*s.* 0*d.* due from the Earl and Countess to David, a Jew of Oxford.[1] In 1245 Simon paid 10,000 marks for the wardship of the heir of Gilbert de Umfraville, until he was of full age, with his marriage, advowsons of churches, knights' fees and all other escheats.[2] On Palm Sunday of that year, which fell on the 1st April, Eleanor, Countess of Leicester, accompanied by her most pious husband, her two sons, Henry and Simon, and three maids, visited the monastery of Waverley. As she entered the chapel, the host was just being elevated during the celebration of the mass of the Virgin Mary at the high altar. She was present at a sermon in the chapter house, at a procession and at high mass, and, before departing, she kissed the wood of the cross preserved there as a priceless relic. On leaving, she presented a valuable cover for the high altar on days when the relics were displayed. She presented the monks with fifty marks and eighteen for the upkeep of the building; with her help, they were able to purchase 150 acres at Netham.[3]

Among the close friends of the earl and countess was Adam Marsh. He was educated at Oxford, became a priest, and held a living near Wearmouth until he joined the Franciscan Order. He was the first lecturer at Oxford belonging to the order itself and founded a school from which professors and lecturers went to many countries and universities of Europe. Foreign scholars also came to Oxford, which for a time rivalled Paris in reputation. In his letters there are clear proofs

[1] Patent Rolls for 1244.

[2] Madox, *Exchequer*, p. 223; Roberts, *Excerpta*, i, pp. 436–7.

[3] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 88; *Waverley*, p. 336.

of the close friendship existing between the bishop of Lincoln and himself and between them both and the household of Kenilworth. On one occasion he reminded the bishop that he had not yet received the gift from his alms-box promised to the poor scholars at Oxford ;[1] on another he related how one of his brethren was greatly in need of parchment and vellum.[2] The pope appointed him to inquire into the merits of Bishop Richard of Chichester, to aid him in deciding whether his personal holiness and sanctity merited the title of Saint. He was continually sent for by the archbishop of Canterbury, now to prompt him, now to help him in the visitation of his diocese. He went to the Council of Lyons with Bishop Grosseteste. He was wanted by the king, the queen, and the earl and countess of Leicester. But he was not afraid to speak his mind and incurred the king's displeasure for a sermon preached at Court.[3] Also, like a true disciple of St. Francis, he helped the poor as much as the great and relieved them in their troubles.[4] He returned to Bishop Grosseteste his essay on 'The Principles of a Kingdom and of a Tyranny', which he had sent for Simon to read. In this short work the bishop drew a distinction between the methods of government by a monarchy responsible to the people and that of personal rule by a despot. Simon was equally interested in the bishop's plans for ecclesiastical and spiritual reform, though he doubted whether his bodily weakness would allow him to carry them out. While Simon was away in Gascony, he entrusted his two elder sons to the care of Grosseteste, to be taught and trained.[5] Adam wrote to inform him that the bishop

[1] *Monumenta Franciscana*, i, p. 135.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 390–1.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 275.
[4] *Ibid.*, i, p. 260.
[5] *Ibid*, pp. 110–11 ; Rishanger, p. 36.

was well and that his sons showed great ability and promise and were daily making progress.[1] Another time he begged for a present of venison to be sent to the new dean of Lincoln, to give honour to the feast that would follow his installation. When Bishop Grosseteste lost his cook by death, Adam expressed his apologies to the countess for detaining her servant, John of Leicester, in his place. But she was willing to surrender the best and most necessary of her servants to do him pleasure.[2] When Simon took away the parish priest of Odiham to Gascony, Adam remonstrated and begged him to return the shepherd to his own sheep, for whom he must answer before the dread judge.[3] During Simon's troubles in Gascony, Adam told Grosseteste how greatly the earl and countess longed for his counsel; if they could not have it by word of mouth, then a letter must supply the lack.[4] Another time, he begged Ralph of Canterbury to visit the Earl, because he greatly needed his helpful society on account of his piety, his proved sincerity, and his power to spur him on to do his duty.[5] Among other good advice Adam urged the Earl to read his Bible frequently, especially the book of Job, along with the sermons of St. Gregory.[6]

Another friend was John of Basingstoke, Archdeacon of Leicester, who had studied Greek in Athens from Constantina, daughter of the Archbishop of Athens; his death was a source of grief to Simon.[7]

The impression left on the mind from a perusal of the

[1] *Mon. Fran.*, i, p. 268.
[2] *Ibid.*, i, p. 170.
[3] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 262–3.
[4] *Ibid.*, i, p. 107.
[5] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 225–6.
[6] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 266–8. Among Simon's books was a copy of the treatise 'On the Vices and the Virtues' by a Dominican (Bémont, p. 85 and note).
[7] M. Paris, ii, pp. 483–5.

letters of these friends, is that of a refined and intellectual society, deeply spiritual, eager for knowledge and imbued with principles of justice and fairness that were far beyond the standard of the age. His friends helped to instil into the earl those ideals which made him seek the welfare of England before the maintenance of the barons' privileges. Grosseteste was said to have urged him to maintain his cause even to death, declaring that the English Church would enjoy no lasting peace without the aid of the sword, and that all who died in her cause would be martyrs. Some told the story that he once placed his hands on Simon's eldest son and prophesied: 'My dearest son, you and your father will both die on the same day, by the same manner of death, but for the sake of justice and truth.'[1]

[1] Rishanger, p. 36.

CHAPTER VI

SIMON THE GOVERNOR

When Louis IX of France lay sick and was thought to be dead, he had vowed to go on a crusade if he recovered. On the 12th June, 1248, he received the oriflamme, the pilgrim's wallet and staff at St. Denis, and reached Cyprus on the 12th September. He proved himself a perfect Christian and a gentle knight, but failed lamentably in Egypt and accomplished nothing lasting by his stay in the Holy Land. About the same time Simon and his wife took the cross, perhaps stirred by qualms of conscience owing to Eleanor's vow before archbishop Edmund, or more likely touched by the prevalent revival of the crusading spirit. Many of their household followed their example, as did some of the nobles, intending to journey in the company of the French crusaders.[1] In February Simon was present at the Parliament held in London.[2] But it was not so far afield that Simon was to show what stuff he was made of. The hour and the man had met. There was need of a stout-hearted knight with plenty of courage and determination; a clever man would have full opportunity to show his capacity. On the 1st May, 1248, Simon was appointed governor of Gascony for seven years with the title of 'locum tenens', though he was generally spoken of under the customary designation of seneschal.[3] Previous experience had shown Henry how fickle and untrustworthy were the men of Gascony. Wealth had made them

[1] M. Paris, ii, p. 252.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 255.
[3] Bémont, pp. 264–5.

turbulent and independent. The towns were rent into factions which fought for the upper hand as fiercely as the parties in the communes of northern Italy. In some the sailors formed a democratic party against the aristocratic families, who wished to reserve to themselves all municipal offices and privileges. In the country each lord was a despot, terrorizing his vassals and counting all merchants lawful prey. Bonds of self-interest were the only link connecting Gascony and England. The latter was a good customer for the former's wines, and its king was too distant to be dreaded.[1] Henry had had ocular proofs of Gascon turbulence. While he was at Bordeaux in 1242–3 rebels seized the monastery of Veyrines and turned its church into a castle. It was attacked fiercely but unsuccessfully. John Mansel, one of the king's clerks, reproached the assailants and was setting them the example of undaunted bravery, when one of the besieged hurled a huge stone at him and crushed his leg. Before the latter could aim another stone, Mansel's friends covered him with their shields and rescued him.[2] Just after Henry had started on his voyage home, he was recalled on account of a furious quarrel among the Gascons.[3] After his departure, the energetic Nicolas de Molis did his best to uphold the king's rights, but was followed by William de Boell, a fine talker like all Normans, but nothing more.[4] Gaston de Béarn, in spite of the presents received by him and his mother from Henry III only a few years before, seized his chance and attacked Dax. The viscount of Tartas had seized

[1] Bémont, p. 20; Champollion-Figeac, pp. 79 80; Davis, *Normans and Angevins*, pp. 406 and 433.

[2] Foss, *Judges of England*, p. 428; M. Paris, i, pp. 440–1.

[3] M. Paris, i, p. 447.

[4] Bémont, p. 21, note; *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 400.

Château Dusar, originally founded by Richard Coeur-de-Lion, slain certain of its inhabitants, robbed them of 100,000 sous, and made them swear never to complain or renew their allegiance to England.[1] On the 26th February, 1248, Henry III granted unusual powers to Richard de Grey and sent him to restore order; but he failed. An appeal was then made to Montfort as a valiant knight and proved soldier, but at first he hesitated. Only when the queen added her prayers to those of her husband, did he yield. The terms of his appointment were clearly defined. He was to hold the government of Gascony for seven years[2] from the Easter just past; all money spent by him in repairing castles or building new ones was to be repaid at the end of the period; if he were attacked by any of the surrounding kings, the necessary reinforcements would be sent to him. His instructions were to treat the rebels roughly and harshly.[3]

On the way out at Lorris, on the 20th September, he prolonged for three months the truce with France due to expire at the coming Michaelmas.[4] On his arrival at Bordeaux, he was neutral between the opposing factions of Colon and Rostein, and soon set out to visit the other capitals of the four districts into which Gascony was divided. At Dax he seized several of the plundering nobles, forced them to hand over their castles, and only released them on receipt of heavy ransoms.[5] When Raymond, viscount of Soule, failed to appear before the seneschal, his town and castle of Mauléon were taken by force; he himself was taken prisoner and obliged to

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 57–9.

[2] Pauli (p. 51) and Prothero (p. 88) say six years, but Bémont says seven (pp. 22 and 264). Close Rolls, 1248.

[3] Bémont, pp. 23, 264–5, 341.

[4] Rymer, i, p. 269.

[5] Bémont, pp. 312–13.

promise a ransom of 10,000 sous.[1] The citizens of Saut claimed the special privilege of only appearing at Bordeaux before the king himself; his seneschal, they said, had always come to them. Simon replied haughtily that he would never complete his task, if he must go from town to town, and compelled them to send deputies to Saint-Sever. For the time being, he left Gaston of Béarn in peace, although the people of Dax brought many complaints against him. But nevertheless he began to checkmate his plans. Gaston had long coveted the lands of his mother-in-law, Countess Perronelle, who had been married five times and had had for her third husband Guy de Montfort, brother of Simon. From him she held the county of Bigorre, and Gaston wished to add it to the lands which his wife inherited from her father, the fifth husband of Countess Perronelle. But Simon came in time to protect the rights of his nieces and their children, and persuaded the countess to hand over to him the charge of Bigorre in return for an annual rental; he was also to remain in possession of it until he had recovered all his expenses in defending it. Then he broke off, as far as possible, all relations between Béarn and Bigorre. When the countess died in 1251, it would appear that Simon owed 15,500 sous of the yearly rental, which debt she begged him to pay in order that her last wishes might be carried out.

A prudent alliance with the count of Lomagne formed sufficient protection against Toulouse, until the death of Raymond VII removed all anxiety from that quarter. An interview with the king of Navarre on the 6th November, 1248, led to the appointment of arbitrators to settle all points at issue between England and Navarre.[2] While Henry III was keeping the Christmas feast at London

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 74-6.

[2] Rymer, i, pp. 269-70.

and exacting gifts from the citizens on New Year's Day, 1249, Simon returned from Gascony with some of the nobles and knights whom he had taken with him. He was received with joy on account of his successes over Gaston de Béarn and over William de Egremont, the latter of whom he had seized and imprisoned.[1] While he was at home, Odo Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen, came to England to collect certain revenues belonging to his church and did homage to Henry III on the 24th April at Westminster; Adam Marsh wrote to recommend Simon to him, and possibly the earl had an interview with the archbishop.[2] Some time in June, 1249, Simon set sail for Gascony, well supplied with troops and money to subdue the king's enemies.[3] Soon after his arrival, a disturbance broke out at Bordeaux on the 28th June between its two factions, the Rostein and the Colon. Simon was roused from bed and, hastily arming himself, rushed between the contending parties. The Rostein were beaten. Next day, with a show of impartiality, Simon made both sides furnish hostages; but, since he considered the Rostein the more guilty, he soon allowed the Colon to replace their imprisoned chiefs by younger members of the party. Some of the Rostein fled from the city: Simon ordered them to return, and, when they did not, seized their goods for failing to answer the summons; the goods of those who did return were confiscated as a necessary example. The fugitives who did not return had taken refuge with the viscount of Fronsac; he was summoned to yield up his castle, and on his failure to do so Simon marched against it and destroyed it. Amauvin de Vayres went to England and accused the viscount of having

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 288–9; *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 74.
[2] Bémont, p. 28; Champollion-Figeac, p. 81; *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 86.
[3] M. Paris, ii, p. 312.

plotted to hand over Gascony to Alphonse of Poitou; when he had been heard, Henry III sent instructions to Simon that the viscount of Fronsac should be cited to appear before him on the 3rd February, 1250.[1]

A monk named Gaillard, belonging to the Rostein family, had made himself conspicuous at Bordeaux during the disturbances of the 28th June; therefore the earl forbade him to enter Bordeaux. When he was elected dean of St. Severin, the election was contested by Simon, and both parties went to the court of Rome, then at Lyons. As Grosseteste was then at Lyons, possibly the two friends met and talked over their respective troubles. In the meantime, the earl ordered his men to seize the dean's herds, cut his harvest and gather his vintage; in his complaint to the king, the dean assessed the damage at 1,606 silver marks.[2] The Rostein faction sent two deputies to appeal to Henry III, who appeared to sympathize with them until the arrival of the chief of the Colon faction; then they were thrown into the Tower, and the council decided that they should be sent before the court of Gascony. In virtue of this decision, when Simon came to England in May, 1250, Peter Delsoler, William Arnaud Muneder, and Vidal Lecomte, were handed over to him; he took them back, cast them into prison, and only released them on payment of a heavy ransom. After banishing several citizens from La Réole and capturing Bazas, the earl marched against Gaston de Béarn, who had resumed his plundering, and took him prisoner. He was sent to beg the king's mercy, but was received into such favour that all his territory was restored and his supporters pardoned.[3] To work for Henry III

[1] Rymer, i, p. 271.

[2] Bémont, pp. 31, 89, 317–18: Stevenson, *Grosseteste*, p. 282.

[3] M. Paris, ii, pp. 331–2; *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 56–7.

was to suffer the punishment of Sisyphus. Though Henry had just granted Gascony to his eldest son [1], he still had need of Simon's strong hand and lavished upon him both praises and promises.[2] For once he also granted ample resources. To preserve Gascony for Prince Edward, the justiciar of Ireland was ordered to send the revenues of that country to Simon for two years, in order that with them he might build forts and castles.[3] From the proceeds of the sale of his wines, the king ordered one hundred pounds to be paid to the earl for the same purpose.[4] He granted eight hundred pounds sterling in place of the soldiers which he had not sent,[5] and also made himself responsible for the repayment of 1,800 marks borrowed from a merchant of Florence.[6]

During the periods that Simon and Eleanor were in Gascony, Adam Marsh proved himself a faithful correspondent. He regretted that the friar, Gregory de Bosell, could not go to the countess as soon as she desired, because he was needed for a time by the archbishop of Canterbury. He wrote to urge the countess not to think too much of dress and ornament, but to be faithful to her husband, prudent and modest. He wished that his breast were transparent that she might behold the anxiety in his heart and attend to serious matters rather than trifles. Again, he explained how difficult it was to find her a suitable chaplain, and begged her to try whether Ralph of Canterbury could find her one. He urged her to use her influence with her husband in getting him to avoid quarrels and to pursue his objects with more caution and gentleness. When he heard ill reports about her unbecoming conduct, he wrote to implore her to reform her

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 55. [2] Rymer, i, p. 271.
[3] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 55; *Close Rolls*, iv, p. 55.
[4] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 56. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 382. [6] *Ibid.*

ways in all matters touching her husband, her children, family and neighbours; and to show herself watchful, reasonable, and peaceful, according to the example of praiseworthy matrons. In thanking her for her letters, he congratulated her on the earl's success, and expressed his belief in his final triumph over treacherous and perverse enemies. The letters constitute a perfect example of tender and fervent charity on the part of a holy man in dealing with a somewhat wayward character.[1]

For the time being Simon had triumphed. He left Gascony in February, 1250, and arrived in England on the 3rd March with his wife and Peter of Savoy.[2] Four days later Henry III appointed Philip, archbishop-elect of Lyons, his own brother Richard of Cornwall, and his uncle Peter of Savoy, to renew the truce with France for sixteen years; but the instructions were cancelled.[3] Apparently, Simon de Montfort went to Paris in their stead and concluded a truce for five years.[4] Certainly, he wrote from that city on Easter Eve (March 26, 1250) to inform the king that he had concluded his business, and that, since the messengers to him had departed, he had received serious news from Gascony. Certain knights, whose lands he held for the king and who were afraid to reclaim them before the court in Gascony, had formed an alliance and resolved to retake their lands by force. They meant to begin operations after Whitsuntide (May 15). It was useless to face them with an army, because their method of warfare was to scour the country in bands of twenty, thirty or forty, plunder and burn, hold the inhabitants to ransom, and ride about in the dark after the manner of highway robbers. Many evil

[1] *Monumenta Franciscana*, i, pp. 292-301.
[2] Bémont, p. 33.
[3] Champollion-Figeac, p. 82; Rymer, i, p. 272.
[4] Bémont, pp. 33-4.

things were being said about himself, therefore he wished to see the king before going to Gascony. The royal castles there were well furnished to hold out until he reached them; meanwhile he had sent Bideau de Coupenne to take charge of them.[1]

He crossed to England with Richard of Cornwall, who was returning from Lyons,[2] but was speedily in Gascony again. He found matters less serious than he had anticipated, but at once began to strengthen his position. In the previous January (1250) he had forced Arnaud de Blanquefort to hand over to him his castle of Bourg; now he made an exchange of lands in order that he might build a castle at Cubsac.[3] He attached to himself the lords of several castles by judicious grants of money. On Advent Sunday (the 27th November, 1250) a peace was arranged between Simon and the city of Bordeaux. Of those who had been banished, some might return on giving surety or signing deeds of good behaviour, drawn up so as to satisfy the earl; others might return on giving hostages; the rest must remain in exile in the place and during the time appointed by the earl. Any citizens who should rise in arms against the king, the earl, or the mayor and aldermen, should be banished for ever. All kinds of secret societies were forbidden. Because it was advantageous to have ample security, two hundred citizens should swear, in the most solemn manner possible, to maintain this peace; the whole city should repeat this oath every year. The citizens would resist with all their might those 'Sons of discord' who should attempt to break the peace. Because circumstances were always changing, the earl should have power to add to, take

[1] Bémont, p. 267; *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 52-3.
[2] M. Paris, ii, p. 337.
[3] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 383.

from, alter or amend this peace, at his will, but he must respect the rights of the mayor and citizens of Bordeaux.[1]

Bordeaux was mastered, but Gascony was straining at the leash. On the 10th June, 1250, Henry III wrote to warn Simon against the viscount of Fronsac, who was plotting fresh attacks.[2] The fierce barons were ill-pleased that travellers might now prosecute their journey in peace, and that pilgrims and traders might pass without being plundered.[3] The storm fell suddenly and caught the earl unprovided. He had spent all his money, and his troops were disbanded. He dashed across France at full speed and arrived in England with three men-at-arms on jaded horses. He appeared at court unexpectedly on the Epiphany, 1251. He demanded sufficient help in men and money to curb the rebellious Gascons; he could not continue the struggle at his own expense, because the revenues from his earldom were not sufficient for the purpose. 'Lord king, remember how they treated you, when you were in Gascony. You fled to them from the French king; but, instead of helping you, they took your money from you and allowed you to lose your land.' Gaston de Béarn had sent his chaplain to complain of the earl.[4] Hence Henry replied: 'You have told the truth, earl, and I will not refuse to help one who is striving so vigorously for me. But complaints reach me that you imprison those who come to you on peaceful errands, and even summon some and put them to death.' This the earl denied: 'My lord, their treachery is well known and makes them unworthy of belief'. The king granted him 3,000 marks from the treasury, and he raised a large sum of money from his own lands and those of his ward. Then he sent to the duke of Brabant to raise troops for

[1] Rymer, i, pp. 275–6.
[2] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 63.
[3] M. Paris, ii. p. 421.
[4] Bémont, p. 36, note.

him and promised them ample pay; on his return, he went through Flanders in order to meet them. The duke sent 300 freebooters and some crossbowmen, who were delighted at the prospect of fighting the Gascons. The latter quietly strengthened their castles.[1]

All those who had the least complaint against Simon were now banded together under Gaston de Béarn. Two envoys, Nicolas de Molis and Drogo de Barentin, had been sent out to inquire into the discords between Simon de Montfort and the king's lieges, and either to settle them or to send a careful report to the king. Before fighting Gaston offered to refer the matter to them with the archbishop of Burgundy and the bishop of Agen.[2] But Simon refused and laid siege to Castillon, which he soon took.[3] On the 25th May, 1251, the insurgents accepted the following terms, imposed on them by Simon. They would give reasonable security to the royal commissioners to appear before a court and accept its decision. The two envoys should choose four judges from each court of Gascony, and they should all inquire into the whole dispute between the two parties. The two envoys might fetch back to Gascony, except to Bordeaux and La Réole, any of those who had been banished but had not returned. It is not certain whether this tribunal ever sat, but the confederates gradually made peace with the redoubtable seneschal.

About this time France was stirred by the rising of the Pastoureaux. A Hungarian, who knew several languages, wandered about declaring that he had received orders from the Virgin Mary to gather together shepherds and other keepers of animals, who by their simplicity would be able to rescue the Holy Land and all Christian

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 377; M. Paris, ii, pp. 420–2, 431.
[2] Bémont, p. 37.
[3] M. Paris, ii, p. 459.

prisoners out of the hands of the infidels. Moved by the absence of her son on his first crusade, the queen-regent Blanche favoured them at first. Roger Bacon saw their leader at Paris walking barefoot in a troop of armed men, bearing something in his hands with the care with which one carries a sacred relic.[1] When they reached Orleans, the bishop denounced them, upon which they attacked not only the clergy but also the unarmed people, and committed many excesses. This turned the queen-regent against them; many were punished, and then the rest went to join Louis IX in the Holy Land. When a band of them approached Bordeaux, Simon de Montfort ordered the gates to be locked and shut them out. When they demanded admission, he inquired by whose authority they acted thus. 'We do not plead the authority of pope or bishop, but of the omnipotent God and the blessed Mary, which is greater than theirs'. Thereupon he replied: 'Depart as speedily as possible, or I will gather my troops and cut you to pieces'.[2]

After the successful conclusion of the campaign of 1251, Simon left his lieutenant William Pigorel in charge of Gascony, stoutly carrying on the war and repelling the Gascon attacks, and set off across France with the countess. Somewhere on the way he met Guy of Lusignan, second half-brother of the king, and embarked with him at Wissant on the 9th November. When they had nearly reached Dover, the wind changed and drove them back to Wissant. This caused a wit to remark that the king's brothers abounded in England beyond

[1] Bridges, *Roger Bacon*, p. 26.

[2] Burton, pp. 290 3; *Central Period of the Middle Ages*, pp. 233-4; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 378; Kitchin, *France*, i, pp. 335 6; *Monumenta Franciscana*, i, p. 109; M. Paris, ii, pp. 451-8; *Tewkesbury*, p. 145; Oxenedes, p. 185.

measure and the sea had rejected the superfluity. After waiting for a favourable wind, both earls arrived safely at Dover. When Henry III heard of his brother's arrival, he hastened to meet him with great joy and bade the citizens of London welcome him; but he evidently behaved coldly to his brother-in-law.[1] The latter offered to give up the province, if he might be repaid all his expenses; but the king declared that he ought to be responsible for all castles gained or regained by him.[2]

A splendid assembly had gathered at York at Christmas, 1251, for the marriage of Henry III's daughter Margaret to Alexander III of Scotland. An attempt to maintain order was made by lodging the unruly Scots in a street by themselves; but they soon came to blows with one another, and the king had to appoint special guards to keep the peace. On Christmas Day the young king was knighted and married on St. Stephen's day. To prevent disorder, on account of the crowd, the marriage was performed early and secretly. The archbishop of York entertained the whole party at a banquet, at which sixty roast oxen formed the first course. The expense of entertaining both courts for several days was a heavy burden on that prelate.[3] In all probability Simon de Montfort appeared at the wedding, and before the court informed Henry III that a fresh outbreak had occurred in Gascony.[4] At once the king cast the blame on him and ascribed the cause to his injustice and cruelty. Then he proposed that commissioners should be sent to Gascony, and that the malcontents should be cited before the English courts. Another account represents Simon as objecting to any inquiry. 'Why,

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 464–5.
[2] Bémont, p. 336.
[3] M. Paris, ii, pp. 467–71; *Monumenta Franciscana*, i, p. 107.
[4] Bémont, p. 339.

my lord king, do you listen to these convicted traitors rather than to me, your faithful subject, and thus inquire into my actions?' The king replied: 'If everything is clear, what harm will the inquiry do you? Your fame will become the brighter for it.'[1] The queen used her influence with them both, and on the 4th January, 1252, the king appointed eleven arbitrators to decide what was due to Simon for his expenses in Gascony.[2] One of the king's clerks, Henry de Wengham, and the master of the Temple, Rocelin de Fos, were sent to make inquiries, and letters were dispatched to many towns to send deputies to England.[3] Now complaints poured in. If the king were willing to listen, he should have plenty to hear.[4] On the arrival of the commissioners, they found that a riot had taken place at La Réole; Gaston de Béarn had joined the townsfolk with more than a hundred men and had compelled Simon's supporters to take refuge in the castle. A truce was agreed on and a safe-conduct granted to the town's representatives;[5] but Gaston refused to go to England, though he sent a lieutenant and a clerk to represent him. Henry III had forbidden Simon to return to Gascony;[6] nevertheless he appeared there some time after the 7th April. The king had granted him 2,000 marks on the 16th March, 1252,[7] and with these he had raised an army of French knights and mercenaries,[8] and returned to his province. But under the protection of royal safe-conducts,[9] many deputies had departed for England, and Simon hastened to return lest he should be condemned in his absence, and doubtless took with him witnesses on his own side.

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 476-7. [2] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 68-9.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 70-2. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 72-6. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-81.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 82. [7] *Ibid.*, pp. 384-6.
[8] M. Paris, ii, pp. 477 and 483.
[9] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 82-3.

Gerald, archbishop of Bordeaux, and the other Gascon deputies arrived in England during May and laid their complaints before the king, accusing Simon of many wrongs, of hanging some and imprisoning others till they died. He declared himself ready to answer them according to the laws of either England or Bordeaux; but they declared to the king that they would never again receive him as governor or obey him.[1] The king at once sent fresh commissioners to Gascony, Nicolas de Molis and Drogo de Barentin; they reported that Simon had treated the Gascons harshly, but they deserved such treatment.[2] The earl's trial lasted from the 9th May to the 11th June. The Gascons accused the earl of robbery, plunder, fraud, and oppression. The deputies of Bazas declared that the land of Gascony was peaceful and its cities growing in wealth before Simon's arrival. On his coming he was welcomed as the king's brother-in-law, and it was hoped that he would rule the land for the benefit and honour of the king. Instead he had done them infinite harm. They implored the king to remove him and send in his stead Prince Edward, under whom all would be in peace.[3] Those of Bayonne spoke in the same strain: 'We advise you not to send the earl back; because, if you do, it will be harmful and dangerous to you and the land; but we beseech you either to come in person or to send Prince Edward'.[4] Gaston de Béarn sent a long list of the wrongs he had suffered, and declared that he would endure them no longer.[5] To the shouts and insults of his accusers Simon opposed a calm bearing. The barons wavered and the king was known

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 184; M. Paris, ii, p. 486.
[2] M. Paris, ii, p. 487.
[3] Bémont, pp. 309 and 312.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 306–7.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 313–17.

to favour the foreigners; but the earl was supported by the earls of Cornwall, Gloucester, and Hereford, while the bishops extolled his triumphant activity, his splendid valour, and his immovable fidelity. The earl himself went through his actions from beginning to end and showed how moderate he had been; among his witnesses were both soldiers and citizens, who praised his punishment of rebels and his improvement of public safety; they asserted that the opposition arose from men who wished to regard neither king nor law, but to live by plunder, sacrilege, fraud, and murder. The earl's supporters declared themselves ready to maintain his cause by combat or to appear before any court. The Gascons refused and declared that they had come by the king's orders to show him the state of the land, and, whether he believed them or not, would give no form of surety.[1] In the eyes of feudal barons to decline combat was almost to plead guilty, and this damaged their case. The king wished to condemn Simon, but dared not on account of his supporters. The earl reminded him how he had bidden him crush the traitors and promised adequate aid and counsel. 'Lord king, your promises should be stable; keep your agreement and repay my expenses in Gascony, for it is well known that I have impoverished my earldom in your service.' But the king answered hastily: 'I will keep no promises to a traitor who wishes to supplant his sovereign, if he can. When one party to an agreement breaks it, the other party is no longer bound'. The earl rose and declared the king a liar. 'Were he not sheltered by his royal dignity it would have been an evil hour for him when he uttered such a speech.' The king would have had him seized there and then, but he knew that the nobles

[1] Bémont, p. 336; *Monumenta Franciscana*, i, pp. 125–6.

would not permit it. The earl continued: 'Who could believe you to be a Christian? Have you ever confessed your sins?' 'I have.' 'Of what use is confession without repentance?' 'I never repented any act so much as I repent of ever letting you enter England, to wax fat and kick against me.' The barons now intervened and parted them.[1]

At Windsor, on the 13th June, Henry prolonged the Gascon truce arranged by his commissioners until the 2nd February, 1253. Then either he or his son Edward would go to Gascony in person. In the meantime castles were to be handed back and prisoners released, but the individuals concerned must be prepared to answer before the king when he arrived. This truce was to be observed by all, and none were to answer for their deeds before Simon de Montfort.[2] The grant of Gascony to Prince Edward was renewed, the prisoners taken by Simon were ordered to be released, and Rocelin de Fos and Nicolas de Molis were appointed commissioners to maintain the truce.[3] Henry invited the archbishop of Bordeaux and the other Gascon deputies to London, told them to obey Prince Edward in future, and exacted from them an oath of allegiance to him, which they took with eagerness. Then he loaded them with presents of gold, silver, necklaces, belts, and silken cloths, and invited them to a feast, at which they broke into furious threats against Simon de Montfort; they would drive him from their land in disgrace, or, if he fell into their hands, they would tear him to pieces. Supported by the king, as they believed, they returned to carry out their threats; but Simon was waiting to make them pay dearly for them.[4]

[1] *Mon. Fran.*, i, pp. 122–30; M. Paris, ii. pp. 485–93.
[2] Rymer, i, pp. 282–3. [3] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 388–91.
[4] Bémont, p. 47; *Dunstable*, p. 184; M. Paris, ii, p. 508.

For Henry either granted a vague permission to Simon to return to Gascony,[1] or purposely sent him back in the hope that he might get killed, as David sent Uriah to the thick of the fight. 'Return to Gascony that you may have your fill of war and gain from it the same reward as your father.' The earl replied undauntedly: 'I will go willingly, but I shall not return till I make your enemies your footstool'. On the 16th June he set out from Dover with his wife, his eldest son and his retinue, and landed at Boulogne at midday. In France, with the aid of his friends and relatives, he collected a powerful troop of mercenaries, recruiting them with promises of booty and plunder, and hastened to Gascony.[2] When the Gascon deputies returned from England, they found him ready to face them; immediately they assembled a powerful army in order to crush their oppressor once for all as a public enemy. He laid an ambush for them, but they discovered it, captured the leader after a fierce combat and dispersed the rest. The earl was waiting for signs of the fight when one of the fugitives, riding on a swift horse, came to him all bleeding and wounded, to tell him what had happened. The earl started like one woken from heavy sleep and asked if the enemy were far distant. Learning that they were hastening in high spirits to give battle, he dashed off like a whirlwind, attacked them with flashing sword and rescued the prisoners. But the Gascons rushed upon him in a body and pressed him from his horse by sheer weight of numbers; he was in danger of losing his life when the soldiers he had released perceived his danger and came to his aid. Their leader forced his way to the earl and set him on his horse again; the struggle continued for half a day, then the Gascons were

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 129.

[2] *Dunstable*, p. 184; M. Paris, ii, pp. 507–8.

defeated, many killed, and some taken prisoners. Four of the most important were sent to the king. The earl had not run such danger before, but he had gained such a complete victory that his enemies ceased their complaints of him.[1] Yet they still dared to face him, and he was once more in danger. He had retired to the castle of Montauban, which was impregnable, but he had neither sufficient troops nor provisions. However, he was saved by the devotion of some faithful followers and by surrendering to the attackers part of the prisoners recently taken.[2]

Henry III wished to travel to Gascony, but queen Blanche refused him permission to pass through France, and he dared not face either the dangers or discomforts of a winter journey by sea. Then he demanded money from his barons to enable him to go on pilgrimage, as he had taken the cross in 1250; but they refused, because he was no soldier, and had no chance of succeeding where the French chivalry had failed and their king been made prisoner. When he called them together again to ask for their advice about Gascony, they supported Simon and reminded the king how the Gascons had betrayed him when he took refuge among them. Many of the Gascons, they said, were only thieves and robbers who lived by plundering pilgrims and merchants. Henry was displeased with this advice, as he was seeking for an excuse to declare the earl a traitor and disinherit him. When Simon heard of this, he said: 'I know well that he would ruin me to enrich some Provençal or Poitevin with my earldom.'[3]

From Montauban Simon had hastened to the relief of La Réole, where his friends were shut up in the castle,

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 508-10. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 527.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 530.

and ravaged the lands of his enemies to punish them for this attack. Then Nicolas de Molis and Rocelin de Fos came there to bid him observe the truce; but he pointed out the impossibility of laying down his weapons in front of armed enemies, and also maintained that they could not supersede his original commission as governor. To prove his claim to remain master, he laid siege to Rions.[1] David had failed to get Uriah killed, therefore he must be bought off. The king promised to pay Simon's debts and 7,000 marks in addition, but he must surrender to Prince Edward all the castles he held and allow his prisoners to ransom themselves.[2] Henry III soon found out his mistake. The Gascons were neither loyal nor peaceful. Alfonso X, variously known as the 'astronomer', the 'philosopher', the 'wise', had just become king of Castile; he is known to posterity as one of the founders of the national literature of his country and as the author of the first history of Spain in a native dialect. He had just completed, at a cost of 40,000 ducats, the improved planetary tables still known as the 'Alfonsine Tables'.[3] He was a grandson of Henry II,[4] and thus inherited some disputed rights in Gascony; these he now revived and summoned to his aid Gaston de Béarn and other important men of the province, who thereupon abandoned the king of England. Many of the deserters were rich merchants, whose cargoes of wine Henry III had seized in England and confiscated without any show of reason. But the danger from Castile was easily averted. The king sent William Button, bishop of Bath, and John Mansel, the wealthy pluralist, provost of Beverley, to

[1] Bémont, pp. 340 and 343.

[2] Bémont, pp. 337-8; Champollion-Figeac, pp. 94-5; M. Paris, iii pp. 27-8.

[3] Magnus, *European Lit.*, pp. 5, 63-4; *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*.

[4] Rymer, i, p. 32.

cement an alliance with Castile by a marriage between prince Edward and Alfonso's sister Eleanor.[1]

When it was too late, he repented of Simon's dismissal. In April, 1253, the earl had withdrawn to France and his departure was the signal for a fresh rebellion in Gascony.[2] In France queen Blanche, regent during the absence of her son on crusade, had lately died.[3] The barons appointed to administer the kingdom until the king's return, twice made the most tempting offers to Simon to become high constable; but he declined, lest he should appear a renegade and because no man could serve two masters. Possibly he had an interview with Adam Marsh at Boulogne about this time.[4] When Henry III had received word of the danger to which Gascony was exposed, he summoned his barons to meet him at Portsmouth and ordered all vessels in English harbours to be seized. For three months the fleet remained in harbour, waiting for a favourable wind, while the army lived at the expense of the neighbourhood. The charge of the kingdom was given to the queen and earl Richard of Cornwall.[5] On the 6th August the king set sail, after prince Edward had bidden him a tearful farewell; the prince refused to leave the shore so long as he could see the sails of the fleet. About the 15th August[6] the king

[1] Foss, *Judges*, p. 428; M. Paris, iii, pp. 41–2; Rymer, i, p. 290.

[2] M. Paris, iii, pp. 16–17 and 20. Wykes (p. 105) says that Simon gave up three castles in Gascony to enemies of Henry III, in revenge for his dismissal.

[3] Joinville, p. 287; Kitchin, i, p. 336; M. Paris, iii, pp. 21–2 and 56.

[4] *Monumenta Franciscana*, i, pp. 336 and 339.

[5] Rymer, i, pp. 290–1.

[6] M. Paris (iii, p. 34) says that the king landed about the time of the Festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, i.e. 15 August. Ramsay (p. 142) says that Henry signed at Bordeaux on 20 August. Bémont (p. 50) gives the date of the king's arrival as 24 August. Prothero (p. 105) says early in September. *Patent Rolls*, iv, p. 244.

arrived at Bordeaux, and was welcomed by the citizens. Gaston de Béarn had fled to Castile, but many of his partisans were shut up in La Réole, which was besieged by the English. Realizing the difficulty of his task, Henry summoned to his aid the barons of Gascony and even the earl of Leicester, so that his name appeared in the same list with those of his former opponents. Apparently he refused to go in answer to the general summons. Then Henry wrote him a pressing invitation to come to Gascony to confer with him: if he could not remain, he would grant him a safe return under trustworthy escort; but if he could, he would defend him against all his enemies. He was urged to accept by his friend and confessor, bishop Grosseteste, on account of the benefits bestowed on him by Henry. Then he received a special request to bring with him as many mounted crossbowmen as he could find.[1] The Gascons were now disheartened, because their chief support had been withdrawn and their vigorous opponent had returned. The war was actively prosecuted; Benauges and La Réole were soon taken, then the land was ravaged by the troops of Henry III more severely than it had ever been by those of Simon. But the foolish king granted the captured castles to foreigners, so that, when they joined his enemies, all his efforts were wasted.[2] The next trouble was a severe famine, and food became so dear that the English knights could hardly support themselves. Even wine, the product of the country, was dear. Henry was obliged to send special messengers to London to procure what he needed; these extorted money from the citizens and loaded vessels with corn and salted meat. But that was all soon consumed.[3]

[1] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 86-91.

[2] M. Paris, iii, pp. 30-1, 34-5, 40-1, 52, 56-7. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 51-2.

The situation of the king in Gascony was by no means secure. He kept the Christmas of 1253 at Bazas and gave rich presents to the Gascons, who were animated by less love for their overlord than for his money. The queen sent him a present of 500 marks to enable him to prosecute the war. The pope forbade attacks on him as a pledged crusader.[1] Earl Simon had agreed to remain with him till Christmas, but stayed on into the early part of 1254. In November, 1253, the king had ordered a sum of money to be paid to him in proportion to his needs.[2] About the 2nd February, Gaston de Béarn tried to seize Bayonne, but failed. Letters sealed with the royal seal [3] were sent to England to ask for money under the pretext of an attack from Castile. The queen informed her husband in reply that the barons would sail in case of necessity, but the other laity would not contribute without a confirmation of the charters; the higher clergy would contribute in case of an actual invasion of Gascony, but the lower only on certain conditions.[4] When the nobles met after Easter,[5] they repeated their promise of aid, but pointed out that the king of Castile had never attacked Gascony in the days of Simon. After listening to the earl himself, they looked upon the request as a mere plot to obtain money.[6] The consequence was that Henry was obliged to borrow from any one who would lend him money; he could not pay his soldiers and was even obliged to sell for twenty marks the horse of one of his clerks. This scarcity continued till June, 1254, when Simon Passelewe, one of the king's clerks, brought him bars of gold, jewels, and plate, and money in coin, sent by the treasurer of England.[7]

[1] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 99–101; Rymer, i, pp. 292–4.
[2] Tout, *Mediaeval Administrative History*, i, p. 272 and note.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 292–3. [4] *Royal Letters*, ii. pp. 101–2. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[6] M. Paris, iii, p. 75. [7] Tout, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

When the queen announced her intention of going to Gascony, the sailors of Winchelsea prepared ships for her [1] and those of Yarmouth sent a fine vessel for prince Edward; but the latter was so much better than any of the former, that the men of Winchelsea destroyed it with the exception of the mast, which they erected in the queen's ship. On the Friday before Whitsuntide, the 29th May, 1254, she embarked with her two sons and a train of knights and landed at Bordeaux on the 31st May. From Gascony prince Edward was escorted to Burgos, where he married the princess Eleanor, sister of the king of Castile; the king of England bestowed Ireland on his son and provided a dowry for the bride.[2] Having spent large sums and incurred many debts, he directed the regents in England to seize for his use all vacant sees and abbeys. After raising fresh loans and securing the permission of Louis IX, lately returned from the Holy Land, Henry prepared to return through France. As the winter wind was scattering the leaves broadcast, so did Henry squander the money he borrowed in the towns through which he passed. At Fontevrault, where Henry II and Richard I were buried,[3] he found that his mother had been buried in the churchyard and caused her body to be removed to a mausoleum inside. At Pontigny, where he went to visit the shrine of St. Edmund, he recovered his health and made costly gifts. The French king met him at Chartres and escorted him to Paris, where he was splendidly entertained and himself spent a thousand pounds of silver in feasts and presents.[4] In December he sailed from Boulogne, landed at Dover,

[1] Rymer, i, p. 295.

[2] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 122-3; M. Paris, iii, p. 83; Rymer, i, pp. 295-310.

[3] Gardiner, *History of England*, i, pp. 139 and 164.

[4] M. Paris, iii, pp. 80-1, 84, 97-8, 104-10; *Political Songs*, p. 67.

and was welcomed to London with a present of one hundred pounds. As he was not satisfied, the citizens presented him with a valuable cup, for which he thanked them, but with no great warmth.[1]

Earl Simon had served the king faithfully in Gascony according to the instructions with which he had been sent there, but for this he had received little gratitude. Henceforth there was a rift between himself and the king. Distrust had taken the place of devotion.

[1] M. Paris, iii, pp. 111–13.

STEPNEY PUBLIC
WHITECHAPEL
LIBRARIES

CHAPTER VII

THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND

BEFORE the Norman Conquest, the prominent feature of the English constitution lay in the local institutions. Theoretically, every freeman was entitled to attend the folkmoot and take his part in all its business. Ine, king of Wessex, issued his laws about 690 with the preamble that they had been considered by 'a large assembly of God's servants'.[1] After the Norman Conquest, the most striking element in the English constitution was the strong administrative system. Theoretically, the king was now a despot, the head of his people, the supreme judge of his own needs and of the way of supplying them, the overlord of all his vassals, the source of justice, the vicar of God upon earth to judge between right and wrong and see that all his subjects were protected in their rights.[2] Yet, when William I separated the ecclesiastical and civil courts, he proclaimed that he did it in common council and by the advice of the higher clergy and chief men of the realm.[3] Henry I commenced his Charter of Liberties with the statement that he had been crowned king by the mercy of God and with the counsel of the barons.[4] On the other hand, when the archbishop of Canterbury read out to king John the demands of the barons assembled at Brackley, the king indignantly mocked them: 'Why don't they ask for my kingdom? They have no jot of right for such vain demands.' With

[1] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 61.
[2] Bolland, *The General Eyre*, p. 19.
[3] Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

a furious oath he declared that he would be nothing but a slave if he granted them such liberties.[1] But the real strength of the English kings lay in their system of administration, by which their power was easily enforced over all their subjects. While the king received the feudal dues, he had a separate system of national taxation; while he could summon the feudal levies, he could also bring together a national militia: in these two important points he was independent of his barons and could therefore checkmate the forces of feudalism whenever necessary. When it became imperative to check the king's misgovernment or tyranny, the barons were unable to accomplish this without the aid of the nation in general. It was clearly proved, during the reign of Henry III, that the barons had been only partially successful at Runnymede; and the merit of Simon de Montfort lies in the share which he contributed towards the establishment of a completely representative parliament, which would gradually learn how to check misgovernment and impose the national will on the ruler.

At the head of the nation there stood the king. Under him came the council, which consisted of the tenants-in-chief of the crown. It bore more actual resemblance to a court than to a council, because the lesser tenants-in-chief, though theoretically capable of attending, did not in practice do so. Consequently it was a meeting of the chief nobles at the great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, when the king wore his crown in public and laid before the council his plans with reference to law, money and war. They also formed a court to hear important judicial cases, in which character they formed the jury and the king the judge. For instance, they condemned earls Waltheof and Roger at the Christmas

[1] *Wendover*, ii, p. 115.

court of 1075 at Westminster. Henry I summoned Robert of Bellême before them in 1102 to answer forty-five articles accusing him of treason.[1]

But there needed a permanent body to assist the king constantly. This was composed of the curia regis, which might almost be considered a standing committee of the larger body. Its work was executive and judicial, it carried on the king's government, though it could neither make laws nor sanction taxes. It consisted of two different classes of officials. First, there were the great officers of the king's household, the constable, the chamberlain, the steward, the marshal, and the butler, whose offices soon became hereditary in certain families. For example, the high stewardship had become hereditary in the house of Leicester before the end of Henry II's reign.[2] The really important members were the justiciar, the chancellor, and the treasurer. Of these, the first was the king's chief representative, and his regent in England during his absence in France. In the beginning, this great official was usually a churchman, and often a man of humble origin; thus he depended on the king and was not likely to unite with the barons. It was easy to reward him with ecclesiastical preferment, and he could neither found a family nor feel much temptation to usurp regal power. Later on, the king felt strong enough to employ laymen. After Hubert de Burgh, the last of the great justiciars, the holders of the office were lawyers and gradually lost their political importance.

Originally the chancellor was simply a clerk to write the king's letters, but came in time to have considerable share in deciding their contents. He was then a secre-

[1] Davis, *Normans and Angevins*, pp. 34 5 and 124; Stubbs, *History*, i, p. 401.

[2] Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

tary of state for all departments.[1] When Beckett was chancellor, he had fifty clerks under him.[2] When the business of the chancery grew in volume and importance, it became necessary for the king to have his own clerks separate from those of the chancellor.[3] The third leading official, the treasurer, had charge of the royal treasure at Winchester and also sat in the exchequer court at Westminster to receive the accounts of the sheriffs at Easter and Michaelmas. The curia regis combined the three functions of advising the king, managing his money, and deciding judicial cases. They heard all cases in which tenants-in-chief were concerned, all appeals from lower courts, and any special cases which were reserved for them through royal favour for one of the parties or because they involved new points of law. The Norman kings had heard cases during their progresses or journeys through the country, but this system fell into abeyance during the disorders of Stephen's reign. Henry I had occasionally sent out members of his curia regis to visit the county courts, but Henry II developed these visits into the definite circuits of itinerant justices. At the same time five members of the curia, two clerks and three laymen, were to remain permanently at Westminster to hear the complaints of the people, so that only disputed cases should be referred to the king.[4]

While the king was supreme and almost despotic in the central administration, his power was limited by the necessity for securing the assent of the great council whenever he needed money beyond the ordinary revenue. For the collection of the latter he was mainly depen-

[1] Stubbs, *History*, i, p. 381.
[2] *Constitutional Essays*, p. 122.
[3] Tout, *Med. Admin. Hist.*, i, pp. 185-6.
[4] Stubbs, *Charters*, pp. 131 and 143.

dent on one official, the sheriff, who held the management of local administration. When he was appointed, he had often to find sureties for the proper fulfilment of his duties. Henry III granted the county of Worcester to Walter de Beauchamp for fourteen years after the king's majority on the surety of Walter de Lascy, Hugh de Mortimer, John de Monmouth, and Walter de Clifford.[1] Sometimes also the sheriff took an oath to do good service. About 1258 Henry III imposed an oath on his sheriffs, that they would serve him faithfully and do right to all men equally; that they would not fail, through love, hate, fear, or desire of gain, to do right well and speedily to both rich and poor; that they would take meat and drink for one day only, when going about their county; that they would not take more than five horses with them to their place of lodging; that they would not lodge with any one having less than an annual rental of forty pounds a year from land; that they would take no present of greater value than twelve pence; that they would take care to require security from their serjeants for their fees and would not let them take from any one corn, grain, wool, or money.[2] It was part of their duty to supervise the royal castles and manors in their county. Henry III granted to Godfrey de Craucumbe the custody of the county and castle of Oxford with the meadow and the mill belonging to the castle.[3] The sheriff was responsible for collecting the king's rents within his county and the profits from his manors, and for seeing that the manors were properly stocked and their buildings in good repair. Hugh de Bosco, sheriff of Hampshire, was allowed to deduct the expenses of stocking the royal manor of Mienes with twelve oxen at three shillings each and a hundred sheep

[1] Madox, *Exchequer*, p. 642. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 640. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 636.

at fourpence each.[1] He was likewise responsible for the custody of royal castles and for providing them with ammunition and stores. In 1266 Geoffrey le Rus, sheriff of Bedford and Buckingham, claimed an allowance because prince Edward had commanded him to buy arms and horses to keep the peace; he claimed a further allowance for damages done to him by the barons.[2]

The sheriff had further to collect the ferm or money payment due from all towns situate within the royal demesne and therefore under the direct authority of the king. He also collected the carucage due from every hundred acres in the county. In hearing cases and dealing justice, he gathered so many fines that the king valued justice chiefly for the money it yielded. The sheriff was responsible for levying the various feudal dues, of which the chief were the three legal aids, due on the knighting of the king's eldest son, on his eldest daughter's marriage, and on his own captivity in war. He collected reliefs, a kind of estate duty, paid by an heir on taking possession of land. He had to keep an eye on all wards and on the persons in charge of minors and their estates. If a family died out or a holder forfeited his land through treason, the sheriff seized the estate for the king. He exacted fines from those who made illegal clearings in royal forests and collected the scutage or money paid in lieu of the personal military service to which a knight was liable. Twice a year he took to London his mass of silver pence, to be weighed, not counted, lest the king should lose through clipped coins; it was often tested, lest there should be base metal mingled with it. The accounts were kept by a notched stick with the sums marked by the cuts; when this was split in two, both the exchequer and the sheriff had a record of the transaction.

[1] Madox, *Exchequer*, p. 643. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 656.

Twice a year the sheriff had to go through all the hundreds of his county and hold each of the hundred courts. When the judges were coming to hold a general eyre, he was nearly driven out of his wits. At its commencement he must produce his writ, surrender his wand of office and receive it back with fatherly advice from the justices. He had to summon all the important people in the county to be present. He must have ready a list of sheriffs since the last eyre, which might be many years ago; and, if they were dead, hunt out their heirs or executors. He must have ready the answers to numberless questions referring to the carrying out of the law in his county. He must publish in all towns a proclamation charging all who claimed special franchises and privileges to come and prove their right before the justices. He must have ready two knights and two serjeants to test the quality and the price of the wine and beer sold where the justices were holding their court. He must exact the fines and carry out the sentences imposed by the justices. It is easy to understand why, when the justices in eyre went to Cornwall in 1233, the inhabitants fled to the woods in fear.[1] For Matthew Paris tells of a later year, how the king sent justices to make the circuit of the land, correcting excesses and collecting an immense sum of money for the king under the guise of administering justice.[2]

With the thirteenth century there came changes. The curia regis was practically broken up and lost its unity of character. There were now separate courts of the exchequer, the common bench and the king's bench, dealing respectively with revenue, cases between subject and subject, and important cases reserved for higher considera-

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 135.

[2] Bolland, *The General Eyre*, *passim*; M. Paris, i. p. 280.

tion. In administration, the importance of Henry III's reign lies in the king's attempt to return to the position of his Norman ancestors and to rule the country through his household. When the exchequer and the chancery were set up for financial and secretarial business, the royal household continued in existence to manage the affairs of the court as a royal residence. Among its most important tasks was the charge of the king's wardrobe, a room adjoining his sleeping chamber, in which were stored his clothes and furs, his jewels and ornaments, his money in coin and bullion, and his plate. There, too, were kept the ornaments of his chapel, his books of devotion, his romances of chivalry. Under king John the wardrobe was carried about in two chests and two long carts. There were nine horses kept for the service of the wardrobe, but usually carts and horses were hired for its conveyance from place to place. Once, when London Bridge was broken down, a boat was hired to convey the 'harness of the wardrobe' from Westminster to Lambeth. It was necessary to keep a saw and a hammer in the wardrobe to open the casks of money, and special cloth on which to count it. All people of any importance in those days used a seal, which they carried in a purse or small bag, as is the custom in eastern countries at the present day. One object of pickpockets was to steal these, and their loss caused great inconvenience.[1] As sealing had become the chief method of authenticating all public and private documents, the king required not only a great seal for national documents, but also a small seal for more private business and for carrying about with him; the custody and the use of this private seal were connected with the care of his wardrobe.

During the minority of Henry III, the wardrobe

[1] Jessop, *The Coming of the Friars*, pp. 68–9.

officials managed the royal household and worked in harmony with the exchequer, from which they drew their chief receipts. They had to pay all the expenses incurred in the siege of Bedford castle in 1224 and in the expedition of Richard of Cornwall to Gascony in 1225. During Henry's French expedition of 1230, the wardrobe clerks were specially busy in receiving and dispatching money to him, while the wardrobe was established in each place where he stayed and its clerks went through their usual routine work. On the 2nd December, 1230, not long after his return home, Henry began to use his own privy seal, as is proved by a writ still in existence.[1] On the fall of Hubert de Burgh, Henry made his first serious attempt to break up the old system of administration. Peter of Rivaux, nephew of Peter des Roches, was granted for life the charge of the wardrobe, the chamber, and the treasury of the king's household, as well as of the king's small seal. He was made sheriff of twenty-one counties, but resigned most of these before he was made treasurer of the national exchequer in January, 1233. Probably no single man at any period of English history ever held so many offices as those now bestowed on him.[2] Had he been as upright as he was capable, Henry might have succeeded through him in establishing a perfectly unified system of government, inspired by himself and administered by Peter. But his uncle was unpopular, and he himself was unworthy of so much honour and responsibility. He brought into the country a gang of Poitevins to batten on its wealth and to terrorize its people. Consequently it was easy to secure his dismissal when he had used the privy seal to bring about the death of Richard

[1] It is a strip of parchment about six inches by two, preserved among the Chancery warrants (Tout, *Med. Admin. Hist.*, i, pp. 210–11).

[2] *Royal Letters*, i, pp. 517–22.

Marshal in Ireland. 'Thou traitor!' exclaimed the king, 'through thy evil counsel I ignorantly set my seal to letters plotting the betrayal of the Earl Marshal; through thy evil advice I banished him and other native-born Englishmen from my realm, turned their hearts against myself and lost their love; through thy evil counsel I made war on them and wasted my own treasure and that of my subjects'.[1] After his fall, the king continued his plan for making the royal household the centre of the national administration and thus for ruling the kingdom through his domestic officers. In pursuance of this plan, the great offices were given to men in humble position, who were dependent on Henry's favour. In place of Hubert de Burgh, for instance, the justiciarship was given to Stephen de Segrave, a lawyer-knight of no great ability, but ready to fall in with the king's plans. Having changed originally from a clerk to a soldier, he finally returned to his ecclesiastical status.[2] The dignified steward of the household was being replaced by working stewards, and thus a baronial family yielded up its close connexion with the court to men of inferior rank.

From 1234 to 1240 Henry's wardrobe officials were chiefly English and practised a measure of economy. From 1240 to 1258 there followed an unbroken spell of foreign control of the wardrobe. During this period Henry kept his native barons at a distance and gave his confidence to foreigners, either kinsfolk by marriage, clerical adventurers, or mere upstarts. The great object of the baronial party was to break up this system, and replace the king's system of ruling through foreign officials by the former system of royal rule through the

[1] *Wendover*, iii, p. 91.

[2] Davis, *Normans and Angevins*, pp. 417–18; Foss, *Judges*, pp. 605–6; *Wendover*, iii, pp. 90–1.

baronial families. They distrusted the foreign favourites, not because they were incompetent, but because they maintained a system independent of national ministers or the national council. When they secured a measure of power, they did not change the instrument of government, but the officials who controlled it. They had no wish to change either constitution or laws, but longed to gain control of the executive power. The future of English liberty depended on the fact that the barons alone were unable to set up an aristocracy that could match the royal autocracy. They had to summon to their aid other classes in the country.[1]

When Simon de Montfort, as leader of the baronial party, wished to secure the aid of other classes of the nation, he was fortunate enough to find an instrument ready to hand. The idea of choosing men to represent them, was not a thing foreign to the experience of Englishmen, but a deeply-rooted custom in England. Consequently it was easy for earl Simon to employ this method, when he sought to draw to his side other classes than the barons and to strengthen his position by their aid. In the twelfth century, the shire court was no longer attended by all the men of the county, but by the landlords with their stewards and by the reeves with four men from each township to represent their fellows.[2] By the Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164, it was decreed that the sheriff should choose twelve lawful men to decide the truth to the best of their knowledge, in cases where men were blamed, but no one wished or ventured to accuse them openly. Similarly, twelve lawful men were to give their oaths when there was any doubt whether

[1] *Quarterly Review*, vol. cxix, pp. 45–8; Tout, *Med. Admin. Hist.*, *passim*.

[2] *Constitutional Essays*, p. 147.

a certain property belonged to an ecclesiastical or lay owner.[1] By the Assize of Clarendon, 1166, twelve legal men from each hundred and four from each township were bound by oath to present offenders to the justices.[2] In 1181, by the Assize of Arms, juries in hundreds and boroughs were to decide on oath the amount of a man's service according to his wealth.[3] When the Saladin Tithe was levied in 1188, four or six lawful men were to decide what a man could afford to pay, in case he failed to pay his assessment.[4] In 1194, at the commencement of a judicial iter, four knights were to be chosen from each county; they in turn were to choose on oath two legal men from each hundred; these two were then to choose ten free and legal men, so that the whole twelve might answer concerning all matters in their hundred. Likewise twelve legal men were to form a jury to ascertain the king's rights.[5] When, as a result of the Lateran Council of 1215, trial by ordeal was abolished in England in 1219,[6] it became the regular custom to employ two juries from each hundred, the first to decide whether there was a genuine case to try, the second to settle whether the accused was guilty or not. A description of an assay held at London in 1242–3 showed the size and importance of the jury and the solemnity of the whole occasion.[7] In 1249, when Henry III was at Winchester, two merchants of Brabant complained to him that they had been robbed of 200 marks during their journey. The men suspected of the theft were arrested, but released by the oath of the district. Stung to anger by this failure to do justice and by the pillage of his own wines, the king summoned the

[1] Stubbs, *Charters*, p. 139. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 155. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 160. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 259 and 261.
[6] Rymer, i, p. 154. [7] *Oxford Silver Pennies*, p. xvi.

bailiffs and freemen of the neighbourhood and threatened to try them as traitors. Twelve men from the city of Winchester and county of Hampshire were elected and sworn to reveal the names of the thieves. When they would mention no names, Henry III ordered them to be loaded with chains and thrown into the lowest dungeon of the prison. Then he ordered a second jury to be summoned, who, doubtless frightened by the fate of the others, revealed many names. Among the offenders were some members of the king's own household, who threw on him the blame of their crime, because he had not paid them their wages.[1]

The same plan was adopted by Henry III not only for collecting taxes, but also for granting them. In 1220, the writ for the collection of a carucage directed the sheriff to collect it with the aid of two knights chosen by the will and counsel of the whole county.[2] In the writ for the gathering of a fifteenth in 1225, disputes about the amount payable were to be referred to juries of twelve upright and legal men.[3] But in 1254 two knights were to be chosen in the same way to grant an aid to the king.[4] In 1213 king John not only summoned four discreet men from each county to give him advice, but also called the mayor and four men from each town on the royal demesne to come to a council at St. Albans.[5]

Later on, it will be necessary to show how Simon de Montfort used this plan of representation in dealing with the difficulties caused by the king's method of government.

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 294–8.
[2] Stubbs, *Charters*, p. 352.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 356.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 376.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 287; *Constitutional Essays*, pp. 276–7.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MISGOVERNMENT OF HENRY III

As tiny streams unite to form small rivers and these join to form a mighty river, so the evils of Henry III's reign went on unchecked, save for unheeded protests, until they swelled into a volume that burst the nation's patience and called for sharp remedies. They fell into three main streams. First came the king's partiality for foreigners. For those who entered the land with Louis of France, Henry was not responsible, and patriotic feeling had gradually ousted them by 1221. On the fall of Hubert de Burgh, Peter des Roches and Peter of Rivaux brought in a crowd of Poitevins, but these were routed in 1234 through the vigorous action of Edmund Rich, the new archbishop of Canterbury. When Henry married Eleanor of Provence, she was escorted to England by her maternal uncle William, bishop-elect of Valence, a capable and accomplished soldier.

Through the queen were so many French folk brought,
That of Englishmen one counted right nought;
The king gave them their will as each were king.
They took the poor men's goods, but paid nothing.[1]

Like the rest of his family, William was pushing and unscrupulous, and remained in England after his niece's marriage, along with his clerk, Peter of Aigueblanche. To a man like Henry III, who loved polished manners and refinement, these foreigners were preferable to his

[1] Robert of Gloucester, ii, ll. 10,992-5; Oxenedes (p. 225) says that the native English were 'quasi exhaeredati' by the queen's relatives.

blunt, outspoken English barons. So he chose his new uncle as a private counsellor, and the latter possibly formed one of a secret inner council, whose advice Henry pledged himself to follow. In 1237 William returned home through Dover with his pack-saddles full of gold, silver, and other royal presents. After he had distributed these gifts in Provence, he returned to England.[1] After his death at Viterbo in 1239, Henry was so deeply affected by the news that he tore his clothes and threw them into the fire, refusing to accept comfort from any one.[2]

In 1241 there arrived William's brother, Peter of Savoy, who was given the vast domain of Richmond in Yorkshire. On the 5th January he was knighted and on the following day entertained at a costly banquet.[3] In 1247 he brought over with him from Provence two noble damsels, who were married to the young earls of Kent and Lincoln.[4] In the former year the monks of Canterbury elected Boniface, another brother, archbishop of Canterbury. He was tall and handsome, but of insufficient age and learning. Though the monks elected him through the king's compulsion and in fear of fresh troubles, some of them were so ashamed of their deed that they retired to the Carthusian Order to expiate their weakness of character by continual penance.[5] He was not enthroned until 1249, and in the following year was stirred by the example of Bishop Grosseteste to make a visitation of his province. He began with the monks of Canterbury, and bitterly did they repent of having chosen an illiterate and inexperienced foreigner instead of a holy teacher like many of his predecessors. When

[1] M. Paris, i, pp. 49–50. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 241. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 320.
[4] Blaauw, p. 14, note; M. Paris, ii, p. 207.
[5] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, pp. 448–9; M. Paris, i, pp. 334–6.

he reached London, he thrust himself into the house of the bishop of Chichester instead of going to his own dwelling at Lambeth, and bade the officers of his household seize provisions for him by force. On the 13th May he went to St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, where he was received with every mark of respect; the sub-prior and brethren met him in solemn procession with lighted tapers and ringing of bells. Forcing his way into the choir, he asked for the canons, but one of them protested that the right of visiting them belonged to their bishop and to no one else. Straightway the archbishop rushed at him and dealt him a blow on the face with his fist. 'Thus it becomes me to deal with you English traitors.' Then he demanded a sword and tore the cope from the old man with such violence that its clasp, rich with gold and jewels, was trampled under foot and lost. Not satisfied, he next pushed him with such violence against the partition between two stalls that he was seriously injured. As the archbishop fell back, the armour beneath his robes was plainly visible, to the horror of the spectators. While the injured canons vainly sought redress from the bishop of London and the king, the citizens rose in fury and chased the archbishop to Lambeth.[1]

Weep, daughters of Sion!
The bishops of the Church
Now pay no heed to Christ,
Nor copy His example.
No shepherds they, hirelings
Who mock the holy rites!
They care for worldly things
And sell the grace of God.[2]

In 1247 another swarm invaded England, this time from Poitou. Henry's mother died in 1246, and in 1250 he ordered the day of her death to be remembered in the

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 344–8.

[2] *Political Songs*, pp. 44–6.

Norman abbeys.[1] But he paid respect to her memory in a more tangible manner by caring for her second family. Since Poitou had fallen under French domination, its glory was diminished, so that the queen-dowager's sons were glad to find refuge in England.[2] The eldest son, Hugh, succeeded his father as count of La Marche; the second, Guy, received his mother's county of Angoulême. On coming to England, he was knighted by the king on Whitsunday;[3] on his return, his royal brother gave him so much money that he was obliged to procure extra horses to carry it. William of Valence, so called from his birthplace in Poitou, was knighted with great pomp on the day when the king carried the so-called blood of Christ from St. Paul's to Westminster. He was given the castle of Hertford and married to a wealthy heiress, Joan, daughter of Warine of Montchensy, through whom he also received a share of the Pembroke inheritance, as she was a grand-daughter of the great regent.[4] On one occasion he was hunting without invitation on land at Hatfield belonging to the bishop of Ely; becoming thirsty, he rode to the bishop's manor and found nothing to drink but beer, until he had burst open the doors of the cellar. After quenching his thirst with choice wine, he distributed it among his huntsmen as lavishly as though it had been water. They were so drunk when they left, that the bishop's servants found the wine running over the floor. The bishop, on hearing of this outrage, courteously said: 'Why did he plunder and spoil what I would readily have bestowed after a civil request!'[5]

[1] Rymer, i, p. 275. [2] M. Paris, ii, p. 230. [3] *Dunstable*, p. 171.
[4] Blaauw, pp. 21 2; M. Paris, ii, p. 247; Ramsay, *Dawn of the Constitution*, p. 120.
[5] M. Paris, ii, pp. 534–5. No wonder that Oxenedes, pp. 224–5,

The youngest brother, Ethelmer or Aymer, was sent to study at Oxford and given various ecclesiastical preferments until a bishopric fell vacant. He was rejected by the chapter of Durham as unfit both in age and learning to be their bishop.[1] In 1250 William Raleigh, bishop of Winchester, died at Tours, where he had been living in a quiet manner in order to save money to clear off his debts to the pope. Henry III at once sent two of his chief clerks to cajole the monks of Winchester into electing his brother; when their efforts had not proved perfectly successful, the king followed in person and delivered an address on 'Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other'; but he concluded with the threat to ruin them, if they remained stubborn.[2]

While so much was done for the brothers, the sister not yet married was not forgotten, but married to the young earl of Surrey. But the king's liberality was not limited to his own relations. In 1250 he appointed Robert de Monte Pessulano to mix choice beverages for him at his feasts, and in 1258 he bestowed £200 on William de St. Hermite, a Poitevin, who carved his meat and held his napkin. When his cook, Richard de Norreys, died in 1255, he left 5,000 marks.[3]

The second root from which sprang so many of the troubles of the reign, was the special relation in which England stood to the papacy and its treatment by successive popes. This special trouble began when John acknowledged himself the vassal of the pope, because the latter, as overlord, presently considered himself entitled to

ascribes the battle of Lewes to Henry III's love for his half-brothers, and says, 'sicuti reges Angliae consueverunt.'

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 293–4.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 394–8; *Winchester*, p. 92.

[3] Blaauw, pp. 23-4; M. Paris, iii, p. 154.

use the resources of England in his desperate struggle with the emperor. It is true that Honorius III gave good advice to Henry III when on the threshold of manhood: 'As you are the common lord of all the men of your realm, you should strive to behave well to all, and show yourself favourably disposed to each; also, if any dispute arise among them, as is bound to happen among a great multitude, you should not favour one party, but endeavour to control and correct each with even feeling and careful diligence. Then, knowing your uprightness, they will not fear to entrust their case to you and will look up to you, as a vassal to his lord or a son to his father.'[1] Nevertheless the same pope strongly supported Fawkes de Bréauté, who at one time was more than king in England.[2] In 1246, Innocent IV, seeing some handsome gold fringe on the copes of English ecclesiastics, asked where it was made; on receiving the reply: 'In England,' he exclaimed: 'Verily, England is our garden of delights; verily it is an unexhausted well; where much abounds, much may be extorted.'[3] As early as 1225, the money drained out of England by the Roman court probably exceeded any single item of the national expenditure.[4] In 1226, the legate Otho demanded for the pope two prebends from each cathedral and monastic church, one from the bishop or abbot, and one from the chapter or community.[5] In 1240 the papal envoy began the year by demanding a contribution of four marks from every church towards his personal expenses. Next he seized a fifth of the revenues of all foreign clergy in English benefices. Flushed with this success, he tried to obtain the same contribution from the bishops assembled

[1] Rymer, i, p. 177.
[2] *Tewkesbury*, p. 64.
[3] M. Paris, ii, pp. 164-5.
[4] Richardson, *The Barons' War*, p. 87.
[5] *Wendover*, ii, pp. 299, 301-2.

at Reading; at first they declined, but later on archbishop Edmund paid 800 marks and the rest had to copy his example. In order to win the favour of the citizens of Rome in his struggle against the emperor, the pope agreed to find livings for their clerical sons and relations; consequently the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury, were ordered to provide benefices for three hundred foreigners and to appoint no Englishmen until they were all provided for. An agent of inferior morals and position was also sent to try what his cunning could accomplish. He extorted money from various monasteries by clever lies that others had contributed and by imposing on the contributors oaths of secrecy. At Northampton the bishops presented a united front to him, after which he tried his powers of persuasion on the clergy of Berkshire. They met him with sound arguments, but here too he sowed his crop of lies and accomplished by chicanery what he could not effect openly. His final attempt for the year was against the Cistercians, but they appealed to the pope himself against his legate and won the day.[1] In 1257, one day while the monks were at dinner, three strangers quietly entered the cathedral of York and asked a worshipper to point out the dean's stall. Two of them led the third and placed him in it: 'Brother, we install thee by the authority of the pope.' For resisting this underhand appointment, archbishop Sewal was suspended; peace was only restored by granting the intruder a pension of 100 marks a year from the revenues of the church, until he received a better benefice.[2]

In 1244 the pope sent master Martin to England as a special legate with extraordinary powers and blank

[1] M. Paris, i, pp. 258–9, 261–2, 265, 277–8, 280–7.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 195–6 and 225–6.

parchments ready sealed, to extort at least 10,000 marks. The clergy of England returned a spirited reply to his demands, in similar terms to those used a few years previously by their brethren in Berkshire. 'The Roman Church has its own estates, under the control of the pope; similarly, by the generous liberality of kings and princes, other churches have theirs. But they are not liable to pay tax or tribute to the pope; nor are prelates bound to contribute from the estates of their churches. Christ said: "Whatsoever shall be bound or loosed upon earth", not "whatsoever shall be seized or exacted upon earth". It is not right that the property of the church should be used to make war.'[1] Nevertheless Martin seized all he could by craft or force, until the barons deputed Fulk Fitz-Warine to visit him at the Temple, where he was staying. With scowling countenance he bade him depart without delay. 'By whose orders?' 'By those of the assembled barons, who will cut you to pieces if they find you still here on the third day from now.' The frightened legate rushed off to the king, who gave him cold comfort; when the former asked for a safe-conduct to leave the kingdom, the latter flew into a passion, but was finally persuaded to send one of his own attendants to conduct him to the coast. On the way to Dover, poor Martin started at every passing traveller, and near Canterbury was terribly alarmed at the sight of some peaceful countrymen gathered at a sale of the archbishop's standing timber. The guide pretended that he had only rescued him from their clutches with difficulty, so that he fled to Dover with the utmost speed and immediately embarked on a vessel, to the joy of the whole realm.[2]

[1] Burton, pp. 265–7; *Dunstable*, pp. 166–7.
[2] *Dunstable*, p. 167; M. Paris, ii, pp. 53 and 56–8.

During the council of Lyons, which met in 1245, the representatives of the great council of England presented to the pope, in the name of the whole commonwealth, their protest against his exactions. They were grateful to the church of Rome, but they protested against the countless Italians intruded into English benefices, because they took no care of the souls of their flocks, but scattered them like greedy wolves. They bestowed neither alms nor hospitality, but carried out of the realm 60,000 marks a year. They protested against the unheard-of powers of Master Martin, as well as his extortion and violence. They could no longer bear such oppressions and humbly asked for relief.[1] The pope made a few small concessions, but apparently made no effort to keep his promises, because the very next year he granted to archbishop Boniface the first year's revenue of all vacant benefices in the province of Canterbury, to help him in paying his debts; it was generally believed that the proceeds would find their way into the pockets of his kinsmen and the pope.[2]

At the parliament held in London on the 18th March, 1246, complaints were addressed to the pope by the king, the people of England, the abbots, and the barons, including Simon de Montfort. 'If the king and the realm were not speedily freed from the burdens laid on them, they would soon be obliged to set up a wall to defend the house of God and the freedom of the kingdom. Unless the aforesaid evils were speedily amended, it would soon be impossible to find a remedy for the dangers which threatened both the Roman church and the king.'[3] But the evil flourished unchecked in spite of protests. The pope ordered the Dominicans and Franciscans to seize

[1] Rymer, i, p. 262.
[2] M. Paris, ii, pp. 131–4.
[3] Burton, pp. 283–5; M. Paris, ii, pp. 148–57; Rymer, i, p. 265.

for his benefit the property of all ecclesiastics who died intestate.[1] In 1250, while the pope rejoiced that Henry III had taken the cross, he excused him from going on crusade at present, but granted him a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in his realm towards his expenses.[2] Not only did the pope seize the money of the English, but in 1255 his legate was prepared to support the king in destroying the commonwealth of England by laying an anathema upon all the opponents of his policy and his extravagance.[3]

The death of bishop William of Ely in Spain afforded an illustration of another evil to which the Church was exposed. If the pope pulled down her hedges, Henry trampled underfoot her growing corn. He wrote to the monastery of Ely to recommend Henry of Wengham, who had succeeded William of Kilkenny as keeper of the royal seal, as his successor in the bishopric of Ely as well. But the monks preferred the known to the unknown and chose their sub-prior Hugh de Balsham. At once the royal anger blazed out against them. John Waleran, who had charge of the bishopric during the vacancy, cut down their forests, drained off their fishponds, removed their cattle, impoverished the monks, and behaved like a wolf among lambs. When Hugh de Balsham went to Rome, his election was confirmed, though at ruinous expense to himself and his church.[4]

The root of the third trouble lay in the far past and was closely bound up with the struggle between the empire and the papacy. In 1184 Frederick Barbarossa had gained his greatest diplomatic victory by the treaty of Augsburg, by which it was agreed that his son Henry

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 168-9.
[2] Rymer, i, p. 272.
[3] M. Paris, iii, p. 136.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 112, 197-8, 215-16, 221-2, 234-5, 248.

should marry Constance, heiress of Sicily. Two years later the marriage was celebrated at Milan with great festivity. Thus the Sicilian and German crowns were united for a short period in the person of Henry VI; after his death, his widow was content with her ancestral kingdom, and the two crowns were separated. But ultimately they were again united under Frederick II.[1] If the latter had remained a submissive servant of the pope, the two might have worked together; but a temporal pope could not avoid jealousy at the vast extent of Frederick's dominions, and anxiety at the sight of Rome caught like a nut between the crackers of Piedmont and Sicily. In his deposition of the emperor Frederick at the Council of Lyons in 1245, Innocent IV had declared the kingdom of Sicily to be a part of the spiritual estate of St. Peter, which the prince held as a vassal of the apostolic see, and said that he would dispose of it as he thought fit.[2] Even the death of Frederick II did not appease the hostility of the pope, whose rancour was as bitter as that of the papal mule which treasured up its kick for seven years. 'Root out his succession and seed,' cried Innocent IV. But the skill of Frederick's sons, Manfred and Conrad, won the kingdom of Sicily in spite of papal intrigues against them. Then Innocent determined to try the plan which he had adopted with reference to the empire, and offer Sicily to a foreign prince.[3] In 1253 he declared that the two crowns must not be held by the same person,[4] and his successor followed the same policy in 1255: 'It is our firm purpose that the kingdom of Sicily shall never be united to the

[1] Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, pp. 269–70, 316–17, 329.

[2] M. Paris, ii, pp. 85–6.

[3] Burton, pp. 289 90; M. Paris, ii, pp. 414–15 and 426–7; Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, pp. 478–80.

[4] Richardson, *The Barons' War*, p. 113, note.

empire, that the same person shall not be emperor of the Romans and king of Sicily.'[1]

On the 5th April, 1250, the very day on which Louis of France was taken prisoner near Damietta, earl Richard of Cornwall was entertained by the pope; it would appear that he was offered the crown of Sicily, but declined it. In 1252 a papal envoy, Master Albert, arrived in England to renew the offer, because Richard was a wealthy man through his Cornish tin mines and could afford the expense of winning the kingdom. A letter from Innocent IV urged Henry III to use his influence in persuading his brother to accept the proffered crown: 'He would serve God, the Church, and all christendom, by undertaking this burden and honour; because, if this trouble were settled, the world would then have peace'.[2] In the following year Henry replied that, if his brother accepted, he would grant him an aid from the clergy of England.[3] Richard had many valid motives for declining: his poor health, his lack of skill in war, his reluctance to stand in the way of his nephew Henry, son of Ferdinand and Isabella. Apparently Conrad too urged him not to be taken in by the pope's specious pleading. The death of Henry in 1253 removed that hindrance. But Richard was only willing to accept on certain conditions: that the pope should divert all crusaders to his aid, should pay part of the expenses, give hostages as a proof of good faith and castles to serve as secure retreats in case of need. In case of refusal of these terms, the earl told Albert that the pope might as well offer him the moon and bid him climb up and take it. The pope's reply was curt: 'We do not care to be

[1] Rymer, i, p. 317.
[2] *Ibid.*, i, p. 284.
[3] *Ibid.*, i, p. 288.

leagued with such a man or to have any dealings with him.'[1]

The pope had offered the crown to several other princes, especially the brothers of the French king, but they absolutely refused it. But while one bird escapes the snare, another gets caught. The pope now offered the crown of Sicily to Henry III for his son Edmund, promising to divert the crusaders to his aid. He also pledged himself to give all possible help.[2] When Henry joyfully hailed his son as king of Sicily, the legate urged caution. The king gathered together all the money he could lay hands on and sent it to the pope to prosecute the war against Conrad. A definite grant of the kingdom to Edmund was made in 1254, and orders were sent to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Chichester to raise money by every possible means, to borrow on the pledge of the churches to repay, and to suspend any clergy, of whatever rank, who showed lack of diligence in this business.[3] Henry even sent the pope promissory notes, on the strength of which he could borrow from Italian money-lenders, and he would repay both debt and interest from the inexhaustible well of England. By means of this money the pope raised a large army. Conrad's death made little difference, because Manfred took up the sword in his stead. Then the pope wrote to Henry bidding him to avoid all unnecessary expense, and to the queen and Peter of Savoy to use their influence over him for the same purpose. He was prepared to pay £100,000 Tours in two instalments; because, if only Edmund would bring a stout army, he would find no resistance. He even ordered Henry III to have a royal seal made ready by the 29th September for Edmund's

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 377, 537–8, and iii, p. 89.
[2] Burton, pp. 339–40; Rymer, i, p. 302. [3] Rymer, i, pp. 297–301.

formal acceptance of Sicily. Such was the irony of fate and such the emptiness of even papal promises, that two days before that date the pope made peace with Manfred at Naples. Yet, in a few weeks, he wrote to point out the danger of waiting, and even hinted at the necessity of choosing somebody else as king, if there were any further delay.[1]

On his deathbed in December, 1254, Innocent IV urged the cardinals to proceed vigorously with the war. Early in 1255 the new pope, Alexander IV, was learning to practise the tricky game of diplomacy: on the one hand, he was negotiating with Manfred and with the relatives of the little Conradin, son of Conrad; on the other, he was concluding a treaty with England through the bishop of Hereford. The war was a bottomless pit. Henry had poured immense sums into it, yet more were needed; he was at his wit's end how to meet the papal demands, when the bishop of Hereford suggested that he should go to Rome and obtain from the pope a bull imposing on certain English churches the obligation to repay loans borrowed from the merchants of Florence and Sienna. By the treaty, Edmund was bound never to divide the two Sicilies nor to become emperor, to hold his kingdom as a papal fief, to pay 2,000 ounces of pure gold yearly as a tribute, to maintain 300 knights, fully equipped, for the pope's service anywhere in Italy; to renounce the £100,000 promised by the previous pope and to discharge all the liabilities already incurred by the papacy, amounting to 135,541 marks. The penalty for failing to fulfil these hard conditions was forfeiture, excommunication, and an interdict on England.[2] During the year the bishop of Bologna arrived in England and invested the prince with his kingdom by giving him

[1] Rymer, i, pp. 302–3, 312. [2] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 316–18.

a ring and receiving his homage. He concealed from Henry the true state of affairs in Italy and returned loaded with presents, leaving Henry determined to go to Apulia, but uncertain by what route to proceed thither.[1]

When the bishop of Hereford returned from Rome, he brought back with him the most dangerous of all the legates, Master Rustand. This man had received authority to preach a general crusade against Manfred; to change Henry's vow to go on a crusade to Palestine for one to go to Sicily; to take charge of all money raised for a crusade and assign it to Henry's use.[2] Bull followed bull in rapid succession, demanding money or soldiers. The pope begged earl Richard to lend his brother 40,000 marks, and the king personally implored his brother's help in parliament; but Richard was not moved by the entreaties of either. Though Henry was in debt to the sum of 350,000 marks on account of Gascony, he did not cease to squander his money on foreigners. The preaching of the crusade against Manfred was a complete failure, as might be expected from the conclusion of Rustand's sermon: 'Pledge yourselves to a certain merchant for a sum of money.' When he summoned the clergy to meet him at London on the 13th October, he met with outspoken opposition to his demands. He tried to shorten the period allowed to them for payment, in order that they might be compelled to borrow on ruinous terms from the merchants whom he had brought with him. At a second meeting, Rustand declared that all the churches belonged to the pope, but the spokesman of the clergy, Master Leonard, declared that this was for their defence and protection, not for their destruction. The bishops protested

[1] Burton, p. 349; M. Paris, iii, pp. 102, 122–5, 133–8.

[2] Rymer, i, pp. 319–20.

against the unjust exactions of the pope, but were too timid to adopt a very definite line of action. If they disobeyed the pope, they ran the risk of suspension or excommunication, and could expect no help from the king, since he and the pope were leagued together like shepherd and wolf to destroy the flock. It was stated that the king owed the pope £200,000, and that the bishop of Hereford had pledged the bishops of England, without their knowledge, for the sum of £50,000. Finally, deputies were sent to Rome, but the pope told them they must pay the loans, though they might deduct them from the tenth due to the king for the crusade.[1]

In 1236, Rustand summoned the abbots of the Cistercian Order to meet him at Reading, and demanded from them a sum equal to the value of their year's wool, for the use of the pope and the king; but they declined to pay without the permission of the chapter of the whole order, and obtained exemption from the pope himself.[2] At the beginning of 1257, Henry summoned them to assemble at London, and they came in spite of the rough weather and the danger; but, when he demanded from them a large sum of money, they refused to pay without the consent of their general chapter. For this the king practically outlawed them and allowed his agents to despoil them at their will.[3] In Lent the archbishop of Messina arrived as papal legate and brought with him a bull, in which the pope remonstrated with Henry for leaving him to bear the brunt of the Sicilian affair, and exhorted him to fresh endeavours. When the monks of St. Albans came to pay their respects to the legate, he demanded from them twenty-one marks and detained

[1] Burton, pp. 348-64. *passim*; *Dunstable*, pp. 199-200; M. Paris, iii, pp. 141–94, *passim*; Rymer, i, pp. 319–50, *passim*.

[2] M. Paris, iii, pp. 169–72.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 214–15.

them as prisoners, until they borrowed the money from a merchant on the strength of a promise to pay.[1] In the middle of Lent, nearly all the nobility of England were present at a parliament in London, and such were the numbers of visitors that the city could scarcely contain them. Henry introduced his son, dressed in Apulian fashion, to the nobility as king of Sicily and begged them to give him effectual aid. He admitted that he had bound himself to pay 140,000 marks, and that for five years the pope had granted him all vacant benefices and a tenth of all clerical incomes for the same period.[2]

On the 2nd April, at Westminster, Rustand proclaimed to the assembled archdeacons a statement of the powers he was invested with. He had absolute authority over all cases concerning crusaders and legacies for the crusades; he could examine into all cases of clerks holding more than one benefice and refer them to the pope for settlement; he could collect the revenues from all benefices where the incumbents were absent, unless their bishop had granted them leave of absence for the purpose of study.[3] The bishops granted the king 42,000 marks towards winning Sicily for his son, but coupled it with a statement of their grievances in fifty articles.[4] Henry at length appeared to waver. On the one hand, he wrote a letter promising to send help during the summer, and the archbishop of Messina returned to Rome with a similar undertaking.[5] On the other hand, Henry issued instructions to Simon de Montfort, Peter of Savoy, and John Mansel, to take to the pope aid levied from the clergy, to explain to him the troubled condition of England, and even to renounce the kingdom of Sicily,

[1] M. Paris, iii, p. 218.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 224–5.
[3] Burton, pp. 388–9.
[4] M. Paris, iii, pp. 236–7 and 455–68.
[5] Burton, p. 400; Rymer, i, p. 355.

if they thought fit. At the same time, Edmund instructed them to ask for easier conditions of tenure. Probably they did not go, because other envoys were chosen soon after for the same purpose.[1] A short respite was gained by the recall of Rustand, who was accused to the pope by the prelates of amassing a fortune in England; but he returned in the early part of 1258.[2] At this time the pope was threatening to excommunicate Henry III and lay England under an interdict, but was appeased by a present of 5,000 marks.[3] Just before Easter a papal envoy named Herlot arrived with a splendid train, and was warmly welcomed by Henry. He had come for a definite reply about Sicily; but, when the king asked Parliament for the sum needed, they were astounded at its amount.[4] As late as the 18th December, 1258, Alexander IV wrote, threatening to withdraw the grant of Sicily unless all conditions were fulfilled.[5] Meanwhile Manfred was ruling in Sicily, and a committee of the barons were controlling England.

[1] Rymer, i, pp. 359–60.

[2] *Dunstable*, p. 206; M. Paris, iii, p. 244.

[3] M. Paris, iii, p. 260.

[4] Burton, p. 409; *Dunstable*, p. 208; M. Paris, iii, p. 265; *Tewkesbury*, pp. 162–3.

[5] Rymer, i, pp. 379–80.

STEPNEY PUBLIC LIBRARIES WHITECHAPEL

CHAPTER IX

PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

In spite of the ill-feeling between Simon de Montfort and Henry III, the countess and the queen remained on good terms. When the earl's youngest child and only daughter was born at Kenilworth about Michaelmas, 1252, the news was carried to the queen by Peter, the earl's barber, who received a present of forty shillings. A royal nurse, the Lady Alice, was sent to take care of the invalid, and frequent messengers sent to make inquiries about her health. In December William de Gardin, a trusty servant of the queen, brought a present of jewellery from her to the countess. At Christmas the latter sent two knights to take her presents to the queen, and each was rewarded with a gold clasp. Eleanor spent the spring of 1253 in Odiham and went up to court for the religious services of Easter, 1253. Both ladies did their best to restore good feeling between their husbands. During a visit to Gascony Eleanor had lent a thousand marks to her brother to pay a debt owed for the earldom of Bigorre, but she stipulated that, in case of his failure to repay, the earldom should be put into her hands. The earl and countess spent the winter of 1253–4 at Bordeaux, whence Simon was sent to Scotland in August, 1254, on private business, possibly relating to the marriage of the Scotch king to the English king's daughter Margaret.[1] He also remained some time in Paris to arrange a peace. In 1255 he was again in France, and during his absence Eleanor received from her brother a present of six deer,

[1] Rymer, i, p. 306.

which gift was repeated in the following year. But such presents did not make up for the money Eleanor needed. Consequently Henry wrote to his treasurer in 1256 to try and satisfy her by paying her the debts due to him from Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and by giving her the balance left from the debts of the Jew Aaron, the son of Abraham, after earl Richard had taken out of them what he wanted. In 1257 Simon received a grant of manors and permission to fence Shipleigh Wood in Northumberland and turn it into a park. John, son of John le Deveneys, remitted the rent due to him from the earl for land in Thornton [1], in return for a pair of white gloves of the value of one penny, to be presented annually. Sir William Condray gave him lands in the parish of Cottesmore, Rutland, in return for a yearly present of a pair of gilt spurs.[2] When Roger Bigod made his will in 1258, he appointed Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, one of the executors.[3]

But the national troubles were fast coming to a head, and Simon would soon be thrust into a far more prominent position than that of a mere courtier. It was unfortunate for England that Richard of Cornwall was elected king of Germany in 1257 on account of his wealth, his wisdom, and the connexion between the English and German royal families through the marriage of Henry the Lion of Saxony to Matilda, daughter of Henry II. On Ascension Day he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne.[4] As, on the whole, he was a mediator between the king and the barons, it was a pity that both sides lost his help at so critical a time. Again, the year

[1] Afterwards famous as the birth-place of the Brontë sisters.
[2] Green, *Princesses*, ii, pp. 104–13.
[3] Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i, pp. 48–9.
[4] M. Paris, iii, pp. 207–9 and 239.

1257 was terribly wet; there was such dreadful storms on the 15th July that houses, walls, and trees, were washed away and many bridges broken down. The furrows looked like ditches, the ditches like streams, and the rivers like arms of the sea. Consequently the crops failed and there were poor harvests in 1257 and 1258. There were few apples and less pears, while cherries and plums were completely ruined. The winter was so severe that the poor were obliged to keep themselves alive on horse-flesh and the bark of trees, and many fled from the country to the towns.[1] Wheat rose from its ordinary price of 2*s.* a quarter to 20*s.* at Northampton, 17*s.* at Bedford, and 13*s.* 4*d.* at Dunstable.[2] During the famine 20,000 people were said to have died in London alone.[3] Town criers went through the streets to proclaim the houses where charity would be bestowed. When Richard found himself short of money in Germany, he ordered his English woods to be cut down and sold and the money dispatched to him: he impoverished the country by the money which he drained out of it.[4] In March, 1258, he sent fifty large ships loaded with corn for the relief of the nation's necessity, but the king seized them under his right of purveyance and began to sell the corn at a profit. The citizens went to the Law Courts for justice and pleaded that he could only buy sufficient for his own household; this public opposition had the effect of stopping his mean action.[5] The strength of the English character was shown by this appeal to law and by the absence of any cry for the king's life, as when the mob of Rome wanted to kill Coriolanus and have corn at their

[1] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 113.
[2] *Dunstable*, p. 208.
[3] *Tewkesbury*, p. 166.
[4] *Dunstable*, p. 206; M. Paris, iii, p. 256.
[5] M. Paris, iii, pp. 265–6; Pearson, ii, pp. 218–19.

own price, or the people of Paris to seize the royal family in order to bring down the price of bread.[1]

But to famine there was added war. Trouble had been brewing on the Welsh border and now reached its height. If Welsh quarrels were England's opportunity, strife between England's king and barons gave no less chance to Wales to assert her independence. Llewelyn the Great had allied himself with the barons against John; he married a daughter of John, and his daughters were married into the Marcher families on the English border. In spite of his achievements, he never really replaced Welsh clannish feeling by a true national sentiment, and was never more than prince of North Wales. On his death in 1240 he was succeeded by the mild David, who did homage to his uncle and tried to keep the peace. When his more energetic brother Griffith stirred up opposition, he shut him up at Criccieth and then handed him over to Henry III for safe custody in the Tower of London. Getting tired of captivity he tried to escape in 1244, but he was a big, heavy man, and his rope of sheets and table-cloths gave way. The fall broke his neck.[2] Two years later David died and then Griffith's sons quarrelled among themselves, so that in 1247 Henry III divided Wales according to his own wishes by the treaty of Woodstock.[3] Among the many grants lavished on prince Edward at the time of his marriage to Eleanor of Castile, his father included the earldom of Chester and the royal lands in Wales.[4] When the prince returned to England in 1255, he appointed Geoffrey de Langley his agent in North Wales. This man had already earned an unenviable reputation by his severity in enforcing the

[1] Ransome, *Short Studies of Shakespeare's Plots*, p. 240.

[2] Edwards, *A Short History of Wales*, pp. 47-50; M. Paris, i. pp. 487-8. [3] Rymer, i, p. 267. [4] *Ibid.*, i, p. 297.

forest laws, and by the huge sums which he had extorted as fines in the north of England.[1] He boasted to the king and queen that he held the Welsh in his hand. He attempted to introduce English law and to divide the land into hundreds and counties. The Welsh refused to change their ancestral laws, gathered a large army under Llewelyn and invaded the Marches.[2] Prince Edward sought help from his uncle Richard, who lent him 4,000 marks, and from his father, who bade him exert his own powers and make his enemies fear him.[3]

The prince summoned help from Ireland, but the Welsh prepared galleys to put to sea and meet them there. Llewelyn united north and south Wales and reduced all opposition by a triumphant march through the whole land. The king fell ill with grief at the Welsh successes and his many other troubles. In 1257 he summoned the barons to meet him at Chester, in order to make a double attack on north and south Wales from Chester and Bristol.[4] As he advanced, his army destroyed the crops lest they should fall into the hands of the Welsh, and the latter retreated with their wives and children into the wilds of Snowdon. During the retreat they broke down the mills, destroyed the bridges, and deepened the fords. Llewelyn inspired his men with the belief that God was on their side and was giving them the victory over the stronger forces of the enemy. Henry reached Deganwy Castle, wasted a month there, and then began a disgraceful retreat. The Welsh hung on his rear, cutting off stragglers and sneering at the English, while Henry, in resplendent armour, rode beneath his dragon standard and urged his men to slay these Welsh, the off-scouring of the human race. On his return home he demanded a

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 40, 358, 476, 531.
[2] *Dunstable*, pp. 200–1.
[3] M. Paris, iii, pp. 200–1, 204, 217–18.
[4] Rymer, i, p. 361.

scutage, to the great oppression of an already overburdened people. James of Audley made a successful foray in south Wales, but the main expedition there failed through the carelessness of Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, who had left his men and gone in the company of a single knight to visit the queen, who was staying at Tutbury Castle because she could not stand the smoke of the coal burnt at Nottingham. The borders of Wales were reduced to a desert, and the usual trade in horses and cattle had ceased, to the impoverishment of England.[1]

In 1258 the Welsh recommenced their ravages, and Henry summoned the barons to meet him with a view to crushing them. At the Parliament held in London at Hock-tide, William de Valence complained grievously of their incursions into Pembroke, which stung Henry into the retort that he might well expend some of his wealth in punishing them. Then William laid the whole blame upon English traitors and accused in particular the earls of Gloucester and Leicester. When he repeated the charge against Leicester of being a traitor and a liar, Simon replied: 'I am no traitor, nor was my father; our fathers were very different men.' It needed Henry's interposition to keep the peace between them. There was already bad feeling between the two, because in the previous year William had invaded the earl's lands and carried off booty. When the latter's steward recovered it, the former's wrath knew no limits.[2] Although the Welsh formed an alliance with the Scotch and later in the year offered 4,000 marks to Henry to make peace, he took no notice of the offer.[3]

[1] Burton, p. 408; *Dunstable*, pp. 203-4; M. Paris, iii. pp. 233-55, *passim*; *Owens College Historical Essays*, iv, pp. 83 8; *Tewkesbury*, p. 158.

[2] M. Paris, iii, pp. 233-4.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 267-9, 293, 304, 311-12; Rymer, i, p. 370.

Meanwhile the condition of England itself was becoming desperate. In 1257, it was proved by an actual calculation that the king had spent 950,000 marks since he began exploiting the country's resources, and that the kingdom was rather injured than benefited by all this waste.[1] A chronicler wrote the following account of the lamentable condition of things in 1258. 'So many foreigners of divers tongues had multiplied in England for many years and had been enriched with so many revenues from lands and towns, that they utterly despised the English as inferior to themselves. Some who knew their secrets declared that, when they had gained a little more power, they would poison all the nobles, seize the king, appoint another of their own choosing, and subdue England to their perpetual rule. The four half-brothers of the king, raised above all other foreigners by boundless riches, displayed an unbearable pride towards the English and treated them with insolent cruelty, of which none dared to complain to the king. Sadder still! the English, kindled by the fire of avarice, rose against one another and attempted to rob each other by law-suits and fines, by exactions and other wrongs. The ancient laws and customs were decayed and rendered of none effect; the only law was what seemed good to the strong man, and justice could only be bought with money. At length in this year, the earls and barons, the archbishops and bishops, and the other great men of England, seeing the low estate of the land and as if divinely awakened from sleep, banded together and displayed a lion-like courage.' [2]

Before describing the reforms of this year, it will be well to consider the previous attempts to check the

[1] M. Paris, iii, p. 228.

[2] *Waverley*, pp. 349–50.

king's misrule and put a limit to the encroachments of foreigners on the wealth and liberties of Englishmen.

At the council of Merton in 1236, an attempt was made, probably by Bishop Grosseteste, to bring the common law of England into harmony with the canon law on one point. The Lateran Council of 1179 had declared children born before the marriage of their parents to be rendered legitimate by a subsequent marriage. Grosseteste wrote to William de Raleigh, afterwards bishop of Norwich, and then of Winchester, to explain to him the many reasons for such a step. William replied in a bantering tone, chaffing the bishop on his knowledge of law and the length of his 'brief'. In spite of Grosseteste's arguments, the patriotism of the barons was stung by anti-foreign animosity into the famous reply: 'Nolumus leges Angliae mutari.' When they tried to wrest from the king permission to have their own prisons for trespassers in parks and warrens, he refused to grant it.[1] But shortly afterwards, at Kennington, it was provided that the king's bailiffs should not take more provisions at fairs or markets than were actually needed for the king's use, nor more than they had been ordered to take. They must take them at once without hindering other buyers, and must refrain from ill-treating the merchants, as they had been in the habit of doing.[2] In the same year, Henry tried to compel the bishop of Chichester to give up the great seal, but he refused on the ground that he had received it by the common counsel of the realm and would not resign it to any one without the same assent.[3] When the great council met at Westminster in January, 1237,

[1] Burton, pp. 249–52; Grosseteste, pp. 169–71.

[2] Burton, p. 253.

[3] *Historia Anglorum*, ii, p. 390; Tout, *Med. Admin. Hist.* i, p. 223.

William Raleigh explained the king's needs and asked for a thirtieth. But this was only granted on the express conditions that he would reject the advice of foreigners and confirm the great charter. The tax was to be justly assessed by four trustworthy knights chosen in each county; it is quite possible that representatives of the towns were present at this council and assented to the grant. Among the witnesses of this confirmation of the charter on the 28th January, 1237, was Simon de Montfort.[1] He was also a witness to the treaty arranged between England and Scotland at York in the same year; by this, the vague claims of the king of Scotland on the northern counties were exchanged for lands in England of the annual value of £200, to be held under the English king.[2] In the following year, the pope himself had remonstrated with Henry on his ill-timed generosity, asserting that he was lessening the value of England as a papal fief.[3]

When Henry resolved on an expedition to France in 1242, he summoned the great council to meet on the 28th January to deliberate on important business touching the kingdom. A careful report of the proceedings was drawn up and preserved. According to this, the barons advised him to keep the peace in France until the expiration of the existing truce with the king of France; when the latter definitely broke it, then they would consider what steps to take. They had granted him aids on various occasions, and they believed that he still had the last grant untouched. He was in receipt of vast sums from vacant bishoprics and lands, and was taking unfair advantage of the judicial circuits to raise large

[1] M. Paris, i, p. 42-6; Rymer, i, p. 232; *Tewkesbury*, pp. 103-4.
[2] *Dunstable*, p. 146; M. Paris, i, pp. 69-70; Rymer, i, pp. 233-4.
[3] Rymer, i, p. 234.

sums in the shape of fines. He had not kept the charter of liberties, but was oppressing men more than ever. Thus they opposed him to his face, and asserted their right to know what had become of the grants of money and to guide the royal policy for the benefit of the kingdom.[1] In 1244, the debts incurred by the expedition to Gascony and the prospect of an expedition against the Scots, induced Henry to face his parliament once more. Some time during the autumn, the magnates met in the refectory at Westminster. The king declared that he had gone to Gascony by their advice, and that he could only free himself from debt by means of a liberal grant from them. Then the prelates, the earls, and the barons, met separately for deliberation, after which the bishops proposed to the lay nobles that they should all act together. Their reply was to the effect that they would do nothing without the consent of the whole council of the nation. A committee of twelve, four from each order, was chosen to frame the reply. The bishops were represented by Boniface, the primate elect; William Raleigh, bishop of Winchester, once a minister and favourite of the king, but now visited with bitterest persecution since his election to Winchester in place of the king's uncle, William of Valence; Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, most outspoken of the supporters of English liberties; and Walter Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, who never wavered from the popular side during the long contest with autocracy. The earls chose from themselves Cornwall, Leicester, Norfolk, and Pembroke; the barons chose two of themselves and two abbots. It was agreed that the committee should present the result of its deliberations to the whole council, and that it should not enter into negotiations

[1] M. Paris, i, pp. 396-401; Stubbs, *Charters*, pp. 368-70.

with the king apart from the whole body. Their verdict stated that, while the king confirmed the charters, he never observed them; that the money previously granted had been spent without profit to either king or kingdom; that the great seal was often set to unjust writs through lack of a chancellor; that a justiciar and chancellor ought to be appointed on their nomination. Henry refused to listen to such terms and adjourned the council for three weeks, though its members were willing to grant him some assistance, if he would only choose good advisers and allow the expenditure of the grant to be controlled by the committee. The king tried to weary them into acquiescence with his wishes, but in vain. Then he summoned the prelates as a separate order and sent Simon, earl of Leicester, with some other courtiers to explain his needs and wishes. They produced a letter from the pope bidding the clergy support a king specially dear to the Roman Church on account of his reverence and subjection. The king even came in person to support his representatives. When there was a risk of division and some were ready to return a compliant answer, Grosseteste rallied them: 'Let us not separate from the general opinion; for it is written, "If we be divided, we shall all die"'.[1]

In the same year (1244) a scheme of government was drawn up which, although probably never acted on, anticipated several points in the later reforms of Simon de Montfort. In place of the previous charter of liberties, a new one was to be drawn up in stronger terms, with the penalty of excommunication for all who broke it. Four councillors were to be chosen and bound by oath to do justice without respect of persons; they were not to be removed from office except by the general consent.

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 7–11.

Two at least should always remain with the king, to hear complaints and find remedies for the wrongs. The money in the royal treasury was to be expended according to their advice. A justiciar and a chancellor must be appointed, who might form two of the above four; but, when once appointed, these officials should only be dismissed or replaced by a general assembly. Two justices of the bench and two barons of the exchequer should be appointed by general election at the council, though their successors might be appointed by the four councillors. 'As these officials had to deal with the affairs of all, they should be appointed with the assent of all.' [1]

When the adjourned council met again in three weeks' time, the king renewed his request for money. A compromise was arrived at. In 1242, in order to secure peace on the Scottish border while Henry was absent on his expedition to Poitou, the bishop of Durham had arranged for the betrothal of the infant princess Margaret to the tiny Scotch prince Alexander.[2] Whenever the marriage should take place, the king would be entitled to an aid; this was now granted at the rate of twenty shillings for each knight's fee, in return for a fresh confirmation of the charters. At the same time, the king's memory was refreshed with a list of all his previous grants and exactions.[3]

Alexander II of Scotland had married Henry's sister Joanna in 1221, but was left a widower by her death in 1238; he had recently married a daughter of a proud French feudal family, whose head boasted:

> Neither king nor duke; neither prince nor count;
> Baron of Coucy my honour's sole fount.[4]

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 11–13.
[2] Cf. Rymer, i, p. 244.
[3] M. Paris, ii, pp. 17–18.
[4] Kitchin, *France*, i, p. 341, note.

Exiles from Scotland were instilling into Henry's mind suspicions as to French designs at the Scotch court through this marriage. Lesser causes for suspicion were not wanting, though explained away by Alexander; notwithstanding these explanations, he was summoned to appear at Newcastle, and a general muster appointed there.[1] But it was Henry's fate to be always giving offence. He must needs invite the count of Flanders to bring over hired troops, 'as if the English could not deal single-handed with the Scots'. As neither side wanted war, terms were arranged.[2] Meanwhile the Welsh were plundering the border and expecting Henry to march against them with the united armies of England and Scotland; when he did nothing of the kind and disbanded his own army, they redoubled their attacks. Their prince David was trying to shake off English control by alleging to the pope that his parents had left him to the guardianship of the papacy.[3] When Henry met the council in the autumn of 1244, he demanded money for an attack on Wales in the following year; but it was refused. He owed so much money, even for the necessities of life, that he could not appear in public without a crowd of creditors gathering round him to clamour for what was due to them.[4]

The chief defect of a feudal society was lack of cohesion; when a baron was monarch of all he surveyed, he felt himself as good as any other baron. Only extreme necessity would force feudal magnates to oppose their overlord in his feudal rights and dues; because, if they set the example of resisting their superior, their feudal tenants might copy the action. It needed several more years of oppression to weld the English baronage

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 37.
[2] Rymer, i, p. 257.
[3] *Ibid.*, i, p. 255.
[4] M. Paris, ii, p. 36.

into a core of toughened opposition, round which more popular elements could gather and cling. But lack of cohesion was not the only weakness of the baronial party; they had no real leader. Richard of Cornwall had sometimes placed himself at their head, but he was too closely related to Henry to be a reliable leader of the opposition. Simon de Montfort by this time had probably reached an intermediate stage between his earlier and later standpoints. He had begun as a royal favourite, a foreigner selected for promotion, a staunch supporter of the royal prerogative. But he was a brave and fearless soldier. In France he had seen the evidence of Henry's lack of either personal bravery or power to command.[1] Matthew Paris spoke of the king's 'waxen heart',[2] and Dante described him:

> Behold the king of simple life and plain,
> Harry of England, sitting there alone:
> He through his branches better issue spreads.[3]

Such a king could never become a hero to a man of Simon's stamp, though he might serve him faithfully and loyally. The sight of constant failure to control expenditure, of outbursts of violent temper, of lack of judgement, had the same wearing effect on Simon's harder and stronger nature as that of the constant drip of water on stone.

The protest made at the council of Lyons (1245) on behalf of the whole community of England declared that Italian ecclesiastics were drawing 60,000 marks yearly, a larger sum than the king himself received.[4] The pope passed over the protest in silence, but wrote to the

[1] Bémont, p. 341. [2] Blaauw, p. 10.
[3] *Purgatory*, vii, lines 131–3.
[4] *Dunstable*, p. 167; M. Paris, ii, pp. 73–6; Rymer, i, p. 262.

English bishops to demand a renewal of the oath of fealty and the payment of the annual tribute to Rome. On hearing this, Henry flew into a rage and declared that he would protect the liberties of his kingdom, if the bishops had shamefully submitted. It seemed as if the constant stream of gold poured into Rome's coffers never sufficed to satisfy its avarice, ever gaping for more. For the moment, Innocent made a show of concession by permitting plurality of benefices and the exercise of lay rights of patronage.[1] But in 1246 papal rescripts reached England demanding the half or the third of the income of all ecclesiastical benefices for three years, with the exception of those held by crusaders, who were let off with a twentieth. Both clergy and barons protested.[2] When parliament was summoned during the Lent of 1246, the country was said to be in a tottering condition. A list of the grievances suffered at the hands of the pope was drawn up by the barons, and the name of Simon de Montfort appeared among the supporters of this protest.[3] The poor clergy of England were indeed crushed between two millstones: the pope bade them pay and Henry forbade them. English freedom was dead: the wealth of the country was counted the lawful spoil of the pope, who followed the example of Rehoboam in reply to the indignant protests that reached him. At Rome itself Englishmen were insulted; when in retaliation Henry ordered a proclamation through all counties and in all villages, especially at markets, against any payment to the pope, the latter replied by a threat of excommunication. The fear of an interdict melted the king's heart, and the opposition died out. A swarm of papal collectors carried off 6,000 marks.

[1] M. Paris, ii, p. 108; Rymer, i, p. 262.

[2] Burton, pp. 276–85.

[3] M. Paris, ii, p. 153.

These exactions led to a decay of religion, which in its turn favoured an epidemic of crime. Among the commonest of offences was the clipping of the coinage. This was in such a condition that the common coin, the silver penny, had often lost one-third of its weight. Some suggested the French method of a debased currency, but wiser counsels prevailed. It was determined to maintain the former standards of purity and weight. The cross was to be stamped over the whole width of the coin, and no piece was to be lawful currency if the cross were not intact. There was much grumbling when the old coinage was put out of circulation, because this was carried out at different dates in different places. The old coins were exchanged for an equal weight of the new, and a deduction of thirteen pence in the pound was made for the cost of minting. While this exchange was going on, Richard of Cornwall went to his brother and demanded the repayment of his debts. When he pressed his demand, the king declared himself unable to pay; then Richard asked that he might be repaid out of the profits that would be made on the coinage. A third was reserved for the king, and he was given the other two-thirds for seven years.[1]

When the spring parliament of 1248 met, at which Simon de Montfort was present, the king asked for money; but the barons told him that he ought to be ashamed to ask for more after his last promises. He was reminded of his many extravagant and unjust actions. He was bringing foreigners into England, scattering the wealth of the land among them, and marrying English nobles to foreign ladies of inferior birth; his rights of purveyance were a constant annoyance to traders: even

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 233–4, 262–5, and *Additamenta*, pp. 150–1; *Oxenedes*, p. 178; *Waverley*, p. 339.

poor fishermen dared not enter the towns to dispose freely of their fish. He was keeping in his own hands bishoprics, abbacies, and wardships, in order that he might enrich himself at their expense; yet he ought to be their defender and protector. He never appointed a justiciar, a chancellor, or a treasurer, but ruled by means of minor officials, tied down to him and ready to work his will in everything. When Henry met the barons again in the summer, he maintained that he had a right to do what he liked with his own. They wanted to make a slave of him. They would not allow their servants to dictate to them, nor would he suffer their presumption to decide his course of action. He would not appoint justiciar, chancellor, or treasurer at their bidding. None the less he pressed for money to go to Gascony, but it was refused.[1] Apparently the king yielded to some extent, because parliament met after Easter, 1249, for the express purpose of recommending to him a justiciar, a chancellor, and a treasurer. Owing to the absence of earl Richard in a distant part of Cornwall, nothing was done and the barons returned home.[2]

The barons were beginning to learn a lesson which would stand them in good stead later on. They were commencing to realize that what was needed for good government was not fresh laws, since the old laws were good enough, but control of the administration. Henry II had established a bureaucracy, which needed a strong hand at the helm of the vessel of state. Such a system had its dangers: the chief offices might become hereditary in certain noble families, or the barons might get complete and permanent control of the appointments to them. But these were not the dangers of Henry III's reign; these lay in the weak character that controlled

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 254–6 and 266–7.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 308–9.

the whole machine of government. Therefore the barons were gaining a surer appreciation of the root of all their troubles, when they began to perceive the need for controlling the executive power. There is but little evidence to show whether Simon de Montfort took a leading part in opposition to Henry III at this time. Possibly the lull in the struggle between king and barons was due to his absence in Gascony. A distinct instance occurred in 1250, when the citizens of London appealed to earls Richard and Simon and other barons, explaining that the king was despoiling them of some of their chartered liberties for the benefit of the abbot of Westminster. Though Henry paid no heed to the mayor and citizens of London, he was obliged to listen to the reproaches heaped on him by the barons, who hesitated to pass over his conduct for fear of a similar encroachment on their liberties.[1]

It was unfortunate for London that it was regarded as part of the royal demesne and therefore liable to constant demands for money from the king. The Jews and London were two golden sponges, to be squeezed whenever the royal purse was drained dry. In 1254 earl Richard assembled the Jews in London and demanded a huge sum from them for the king under pain of imprisonment; in his reply, their high priest begged permission for them to leave England and then, overcome with emotion, fell in a faint. Needless to say, such profitable subjects were not allowed to depart. In 1256 they were given the choice between finding 8,000 marks and being hanged. However, the king sold them for several years to his brother Richard, who showed them more mercy than he had done.[2] Individual Jews received even less mercy than their community. In 1257

[1] M. Paris, ii, p. 351.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 76 and 114–15.

a London Jew lay ill with a mortal disease, and the king graciously spared him the trouble of making a will, by ordering that, on his death, the whole of his property should pass to queen Eleanor.[1] The unhappy citizens of London were likewise in evil case whenever Henry appeared among them, for they were fined on the least pretext. After the unfortunate wrestling match which the representatives of London won in 1222, the city was fined many thousands of marks for the disturbance which followed, when the citizens defended themselves against the unprovoked assault made on them by the men of the abbot of Westminster.[2] In 1244 a fine of 1,500 marks was levied from the citizens for having taken back a fellow citizen who had been outlawed; they declared that he had been pardoned by the king in return for a sum of money, but the king's officers replied that he was not of age at the time and therefore the pardon was invalid.[3] In 1253 the young men of London offered a peacock as a prize for a tilting-match at the quintain. This stirred up the wrath of the king's courtiers then at Westminster, who evidently considered such sports as only fit for gentlemen and taunted the Londoners with being scurvy rustics. When they took part in the match, they were soundly beaten, well cudgelled with the pieces of their broken pikes, and put to flight. Hastening to the king, they gave him their version of what had happened, and the unlucky citizens paid dear for their victory. They had just paid a tallage of a thousand marks, and now had to pay a large sum in addition.[4]

In 1248 Henry III was reduced to such straits that he had to sell his gold and silver plate; after the sale was concluded, he inquired who were the purchasers.

[1] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 87, note.
[2] *Dunstable*, p. 79.
[3] M. Paris, ii, pp. 36-7.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 18.

Learning that his treasures had been sold at London, he exclaimed: 'These boors of London who call themselves barons would buy up the treasure of an emperor, if they had the chance. Their city is a bottomless well of treasure.'[1] He had previously exacted tallages from the citizens in 1243 and 1246.[2] Now he conceived the idea of stripping them of their wealth. He hit upon the plan of establishing a fair at Westminster, to last for a fortnight from the festival of the translation of Edward the Confessor, which fell on the 13th October. In order to make this fair successful, Henry not only prohibited all fairs throughout England during that period, but also the ordinary business carried on in London. Crowds of people flocked to Westminster out of reverence for Edward the Confessor, and also to venerate the recently acquired relic of the blood of Christ. But the bishop of Ely complained loudly of the wrong done to St. Etheldreda and of the loss to his own pocket, by prohibiting his fair on the 17th October. Soothing words were his only recompense. The merchants of London also complained. It was a wild and wet season of the year. The ground was wet and muddy; the canvas tents were often blown down. It was much more comfortable to serve their customers under the shelter of a good roof and to eat their dinner by a warm fireside.[3] In 1249 the king demanded £2,000, and his officials took large quantities of meat and drink, yet he showed no hospitality. It was true that he presently asked pardon, even with tears in his eyes, and apologized for his agents, like the Greek brigand captain who was sorry for the rudeness of his

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 267–8.

[2] *Ibid.*, i, p. 445 and ii, p. 135.

[3] *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, p. 14, represents them as coming 'non coacti, et quasi coacti'; M. Paris, ii, pp. 272–3 and 526.

men[1]; but, like him too, he restored no mite of what had been exacted. When Henry forced the citizens of London to give him twenty gold marks in 1252, they felt as if they were no longer free men, but of the lowest order of slaves. In 1255 they were fined 3,000 marks for having obliged the bishop of London. A certain ecclesiastic had murdered a distant relation of the queen on the Continent and then fled to England. He was received by the Franciscans and given their habit, but the bishop of London had him arrested to await his trial. As he had no prison, he begged the citizens of London to guard the prisoner for him in Newgate. When the latter unfortunately escaped, Henry seized the chance and made them pay dearly for their carelessness. In 1256 he took from them a tallage of 500 marks.[2] It was small wonder that London was among the stoutest partisans of earl Simon.[3]

Slowly but surely Henry was alienating the favour of every class. His behaviour oscillated between such extremes that he seemed almost a mediaeval Jekyll and Hyde, who assumed at will the character of the saint or the sinner. In 1252 the parliament were unwilling to grant him the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues, which had been made over to him by the pope for his crusade; Grosseteste headed the opposition with his vehement exclamation: 'By our Lady, what is this? Do you think we will agree to this accursed contribution? Far from us be any such bowing of the knee to Baal.' When the matter was postponed, owing to the absence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the king sent for the bishop of Ely. He welcomed him with courteous

[1] About, *Le Roi des Montagnes*, c. iv.

[2] M. Paris, ii, pp. 289 90, 329, 526, and iii, pp. 113 14 and 181.

[3] *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, pp. 38-9, 53, 58, 77.

reverence and thanked him for his unwearied services in the past; then he begged him to aid him in the heavy expenditure of his proposed crusade. But the bishop flatly declined, whereupon Henry had him turned out of the palace: 'Turn out this boor and let me never see him again.' While he behaved thus rudely to the bishop, he had just granted a rich living to the chaplain of his brother Guy de Lusignan; this man combined the office of jester or court fool to the one brother with that of spiritual adviser to the other. During a visit to the abbey of St. Albans, while the royal party were walking through the orchard, the same man was seen to pelt even the king with turf and green apples and to squeeze the juice of unripe grapes into the eyes of the courtiers. Nor was this the only instance of 'like master, like man'. When the marshal of Guy arrived at St. Albans on another occasion, he drove out of the stables the visitors' horses he found there, although they would hold three hundred without difficulty and there was ample room for those of his master.[1] Yet Louis of France said of the king who did and permitted such acts: 'Whatever be his sins, his prayers and offerings will save his soul.'[2] But the master of the Hospitallers warned him: 'As long as you observe the laws of justice, you will be a king; but when you break them, you will cease to be one.'[3] On a visit to Paris Henry once kept the king and the parliament waiting, because he would leap from his horse and hear mass in every church which he passed, since he delighted to hear mass as much as Louis loved to hear sermons. He arrived so late that nothing could be done that day. The French begged him to come earlier the next day; accordingly he rose before dawn,

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 519, 522-5, 535-6.
[2] Prothero, p. 126.
[3] M. Paris, ii, p. 531.

but heard so many masses that he was as late as before, and business was again hindered. Thereupon Louis IX ordered all the churches on his way to be shut on the third day. This time Henry arrived at the parliament in good time, but refused to have any dealings with an excommunicated people. The French king inquired what he meant, and he explained that all the churches he had passed were closed, as though the land lay under an interdict. 'Dear cousin, why must you hear so many masses?' 'Why must you hear so many sermons?' Finally, the business was left to the lords, who were to report the result of their deliberations when the pious kings arrived.[1]

While Henry's credit had been steadily declining, there can be little doubt that trust in earl Simon had been gradually growing. He began with a few faithful friends who knew the firmness of his character and the uprightness of his heart; in a conversation with Adam Marsh on the plans of Grosseteste, he even wondered whether he could find any supporters.[2] Yet, in later letters, the same faithful friend spoke of the safety of many as depending on him, and on another occasion hesitated to mention a certain matter in a letter on account of its great importance.[3] Simon had come to England as a courtier and had been closely connected with the king by the tie of marriage. But he had gradually fallen away from Henry owing to the latter's instability of character and lack of kingly qualities. Through his religious friends and his own religious character, he had been brought into touch with the religious movement of the day and was doubtless the hero of the friars. By

[1] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 140–2.
[2] *Monumenta Franciscana*, i, p. 111.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 225 and 277.

their influence his character was made known throughout the country and especially in the towns. The men of England did not place him on a level with St. Thomas of Canterbury as the result of a sudden whim. They had recognized his sympathy with their troubles and his stern resolve to right their wrongs. Hence the gleeman, as he visited the halls of the nobles, sang of him as one

> Who hates the wrong and loves the right,
> Who shall obtain the upper hand;
> For he is strong and has great might,
> He may be glad of this renown.[1]

[1] *Political Songs*, p. 61.

STEPNEY PUBLIC WHITECHAPEL LIBRARIES

CHAPTER X

THE DAY OF RECKONING

A BRIEF survey must be made of the forces arrayed in the opposing camps. On the one hand, Henry III was mainly supported by his foreign relatives and the followers who flocked over in their trains; a few barons and a few clergy were also on his side, but were probably lukewarm. At a later stage in the struggle, this party was augmented by desertions from the camp of the barons and by the foreign clergy in England, who were influenced by the pope and the king of France. On the other hand, the baronial party comprised a majority of the clergy and of the greater barons, together with the smaller barons, London, and the seaports. The northern barons, who had been so conspicuous on the popular side in 1215, were now replaced by those of the midland counties. The universities were staunch supporters of Simon, but their students were not of much account in actual fighting. The principal weakness was the lack of a great leader. Even had he been on the popular side, archbishop Boniface was not fit to sit in the seat of Becket or to wear the mitre of Langton. The chief leader of the barons, Simon de Montfort, suffered from the defects of his foreign birth and his connexion with the court. These prevented him from taking the place of either Fitz-Walter or William Marshal.

The Church was not sufficiently united to exert its full influence. It was necessary for the bishops to exert their authority in repressing the evils common among

the clergy. Grosseteste found it necessary to write to the dean and chapter of Lincoln, commanding them to abolish the Feast of Fools, celebrated in their cathedral on New Year's day.[1] During his first visitation of his diocese he removed seven abbots and four priors from office.[2] The constitutions which he issued to his clergy proved the need for reform. Some years later his example was copied by Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, who was obliged to take the extreme step of removing disobedient monks to other abbeys.[3] The strictness of these visitations caused the bishops to assert their determination to rule their flocks, and consequently brought about a breach between shepherds and sheep. Further, because the pope saw the necessity for conciliating the higher clergy, he supported the bishop of Lincoln in his claim to visit his chapter[4] and regulated carefully the power of the archbishops over their suffragans. In the end the bishops were suspected of weakness and fear, because their own theory of papal power bound them closely to the individual holder of that power.

The lay barons were not, like the clergy, subject to the double oppression of pope and king, and they had power of resistance through their retainers. They were less to be depended on than the clergy, but their adherence to the cause was more valuable when it came to blows. Their chief complaint against the king was the favour shown to aliens. They might have adopted for their motto: 'England for the English.' They objected to the king's continual breaches of feudal rights. The widowed countess of Arundel visited the king to remon-

[1] Grosseteste, pp. 128-9; Maitland, *The Dark Ages*, pp. 148–57.
[2] *Dunstable*, p. 143.
[3] *Tewkesbury*, pp. 146-7 and 150.
[4] *Dunstable*, p. 168.

strate with him for seizing a wardship belonging to her. 'One cannot obtain right and justice at your court. You govern well neither self nor realm, and oppress your nobles in many ways.' When Henry sneered at her, she repeated her charge in so bold a manner that he was reduced to silence, although he did not correct his fault. She protested against his evil advisers, who turned him from the path of truth for their own advantage.[1] Petty oppression under cover of the forest laws, the frequency of taxes and the subsequent ill use of the money, the ill deeds of sheriffs and bailiffs, the general misgovernment of the country: such were the grievances of the barons. Against taxation they had a measure of remedy in their own hands and repeatedly refused aid, though apparently the king sometimes extorted scutage in spite of their refusal to grant it. Gradually they began to perceive that their right of veto over taxation was not sufficient, that they needed also the power to control expenditure. The king began to explain why he needed money; thus instructed, the barons began to inquire why it was wasted and squandered.

Still more gradually did the baronial party come to perceive that they needed, not only control over expenditure, but also a general control over the king's policy and more especially over his officials. Among the worst of these were the sheriffs. So long as there was neither justiciar nor chancellor, Henry could use his officials to extort money on endless pretexts. The itinerant justices and the sheriffs were most useful for this purpose. The behaviour of the latter was illustrated by an incident which Simon de Montfort and others were sent to investigate in 1256. A rich knight wished to

[1] M. Paris, ii, pp. 528–9.

become richer, supplanted the sheriff of Northampton and obtained his place. Then he extorted money right and left. As he was travelling through the county one day, he came across a fine meadow where some fat cattle were grazing. He demanded of the herdsman: 'Whose servant art thou?' He named his master, whom the sheriff hated because he was a just man and had often opposed his own injustice. Seizing his chance of vengeance, he cried: 'Thou art a thief; thou stealest cattle by night and thy master receives them. I arrest thee and seize the cattle.' He tortured the poor man until he was brought to the point of death and then owned himself a thief. Then the sheriff had him brought before him. 'You have admitted that you are a thief in the presence of those who are prepared to give evidence against you. I can hang you or set you free. Accuse your master of theft, and I will release you.' In terror of his life the poor man consented, and was given more liberty, though still detained in custody. When tidings of these events reached the herdsman's master, he was ill and sent a bribe to the sheriff to grant him respite until his recovery. When he got better, he consulted his lawyers on the wisest course of action. When the justices arrived, the herdsman was brought before them, but denied absolutely the truth of the accusations against both himself and his master. He also laid bare the sheriff's wicked plot. Common opinion was on the side of the man and his master, but the justices were shy of condemning a man of such influence as the sheriff. However, the stir made by this event reached the ears of the king, who sent four commissioners to hold a strict inquiry. They found matters even worse than had been reported, and the sheriff was in danger of losing his life. But his wife hastened to the king and queen of Scotland to

implore their intercession on his behalf. John Mansel added his influence, and the wretched man was spared.[1]

It was not the barons, but the middle and lower classes, who suffered most from the sheriff's oppressions; consequently it was only when the latter began to gain some voice in the parliament, that the question of the appointment of sheriffs came to the front, and the demand was put forward that they should be appointed by parliament.

The political circumstances of the times are very plainly set out in a Latin poem, written after the battle of Lewes, almost certainly by a Franciscan friar. He had most likely been a student at Oxford and thus came under the influence of Adam Marsh and bishop Grosseteste. He had such an intimate knowledge of Simon's personal feelings that he was in all probability a member of his household; he was presumably present at Lewes, because he had knowledge of incidents that happened during and after the battle. He may have accompanied Stephen Berkstead, bishop of Chichester, on his mission to the king's army before the battle. As there is some evidence to show that he was known to the writer of the Melrose Chronicle, it is quite possible that he took refuge in Scotland after the failure of the barons' cause.

The writer recapitulates the various demands put forward by the constitutional party. The confused state of England is due to foreigners, whereas its greatness depends on the guidance of its policy by its own men. Escheats and wardships are granted to these aliens, who then thirst for more and turn away the heart of the king from his own people. They ought merely to visit England, and then return home. The castles of England ought likewise to be in the hands of native nobles, under the control of the council; the latter ought to be

[1] M. Paris, iii, pp. 187–91.

consulted in the appointment of the chief ministers, who should be responsible to them. Sheriffs ought to be appointed in a similar manner, and justice rendered without bribery. The king ought to discuss his policy with those whom he will ask for the money to carry it out.

The whole root of the quarrel lies in the different aims of the two parties. The king wishes to be free to do exactly what he likes and urges that he will be no king, if his will be not law. 'The command of the prince has the force of law.' It is not the business of the barons to tell him who shall have charge of his castles, who shall be his ministers, or how he shall execute justice. Just as a baron or a freeman has the right to manage his own affairs without interference, so the king has exactly the same right to manage the affairs of the kingdom without being dictated to. Otherwise he is a mere servant and deprived of the rights enjoyed by his predecessors. But the barons reply that they are not seeking to lessen the king's honour. Just as, if the kingdom be invaded by enemies, it is their duty to defend and protect it; equally so are they bound to protect it from internal injury. The king's worst enemies are evil counsellors, who lead him astray for their own profit. When men bring in foreigners to oust the natives; when they despise the nobles of the land and raise mean men to the highest positions; they are harming the realm as much as if they make war on it with weapons brought from abroad. If the king take part in such wrongs, it is the duty of the barons to check him and free the land. They are equally entitled to hinder wrong by prudent advice, and the king ought to welcome their endeavours to help him. God loves mercy more than judgement, therefore He must approve all endeavours to secure mild laws and freedom from oppression.

What answer can be found to the king's claim for absolute liberty? Even God is restrained by His very nature from doing wrong, and the good angels are preserved from falling. Children must be preserved from hurting themselves, but they are not made slaves by such wise restraint. Similarly, the king's freedom lies in doing good, not evil. A king is truly free when he rules himself and his kingdom rightly. A true king is the servant of God and responsible to Him for his people, whom he must learn to love and help. If he protects and benefits them, he earns their gratitude; if he oppresses and harms them, he is no true prince, but forfeits the allegiance of his subjects. If a prince chance to be foolish, what is to be done? The probable cause of his failure lies in his own choice of his counsellors. As these have failed, the community must take counsel; they know what kind of laws and advisers they need. They will choose such as will try to benefit the country, because their personal interests are bound up with it. Now, if the king have not wisdom to choose good counsellors, the community ought to help him. The governing of a kingdom is like the steering of a ship; it must be properly steered to avoid loss and ruin. If subjects waste their own property to the detriment of the country, the rulers can restrain them. Similarly a realm must be guarded from ruin. Liberty does not mean allowing fools to rule, for true liberty must be limited by right, and they follow error. The aim of a true ruler is not to do what he likes with his subjects, to harm or to injure them; he rather seeks to aid them in doing well, to restrain them from error, and to help them in their troubles. The king's will is subject to law, which strengthens his character and enables him to do justice. The title of king is relative; he cannot dwell apart and

live by himself, for he is bound up with his people as their protector. When a king rules for the good of his subjects, he is fulfilling the true office of a king; but if otherwise, then he has failed. As Christ often asked His disciples for their opinions, so a true king will share his plans with those who must help him to carry them out and find the money needed. Let a king seek the honour of God and his own self-mastery, then he will rule faithfully the people committed to his charge. The barons must consider what is good for the realm, and the king should choose native counsellors, not foreign favourites, who do not know the customs of the land.[1]

On the arrival of the papal clerk[2] Herlot in 1258, archbishop Boniface summoned a convocation of bishops and clergy to meet at Merton, at which many articles were drawn up to remedy the evil condition of the Church in England. These tended chiefly to the assertion of the supremacy of the ecclesiastical power over the secular. Prelates were not to be summoned before secular tribunals to answer for actions performed in their spiritual capacity; excommunicated persons who had been imprisoned must not be released by the king's officials; those who invaded the property of the church or interfered with its liberties were to be excommunicated. Even the king himself was to be excommunicated, if he wasted the property of vacant benefices.[3] At the parliament held soon afterwards the bishops and clergy absented themselves 'as a measure of precaution'.[4] The king demanded such an immense sum from the barons that they were

[1] Cf. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, iii, p. 461 and note; Kingsford, *The Song of Lewes*, passim.

[2] Prothero, p. 186, calls him a legate; but Bémont, p. 157 and note, points out that M. Paris says (iii, p. 265): 'quamvis legatus non diceretur,' and calls him 'domini pape notarius et clericus specialis'.

[3] Burton, pp. 412–22.

[4] *Tewkesbury*, p. 163.

astounded, dropped the question of Sicily, and turned their attention to Wales. It was decided that the barons should assemble at Chester on the 17th June, equipped for an expedition into Wales. As the king could get no money out of them for his foolish Sicilian undertaking, he turned to the church and wheedled a deed of surety for 2,500 marks out of the abbot of Westminster. Then he sent a trusty agent to other rich monasteries to induce them to copy the example of Westminster, but his lies and tricks were unsuccessful. On the third day of the parliament the barons came to Westminster just before nine o'clock in full armour, but laid aside their swords at the entrance to the council chamber and saluted the king with due respect. Henry, alarmed and hesitating, inquired why they had come thus armed. 'Why is it, lords? Am I your prisoner?' Roger Bigod answered: 'Nay, lord king, but banish these unbearable Poitevins and all other aliens out of our sight, that there may be peace in the hearts of all well-disposed men. We are ready to put our trust in you for the honour and welfare of your realm. If you will only swear to observe closely our advice, the land will have rest from its woes.' The king inquired what their special demands were. The barons replied that the king and prince Edward must take an oath on the holy gospels, to do nothing apart from the advice of a council of twenty-four men to be chosen from among the bishops and barons, and that he would hand the great seal to a fit man chosen by the council. When he saw that they were resolute, he and the prince took the oath at the shrine of St. Edward, although against their will, and yielded entirely to their requirements.[1]

Next, Simon de Montfort protested vigorously against

[1] *Tewkesbury*, pp. 163–4.

the insolence of the Poitevins in general and of William de Valence in particular. Having learnt by sad experience what a changeable Proteus Henry was, the barons chose the committee of twenty-four before they broke up, twelve from each party.[1] Afterwards the parliament was adjourned to the 11th June at Oxford. But Simon and several other barons were so afraid of the foreigners' plots and the king's lack of straightforwardness that they went about with a band of armed retainers.[2] On the 2nd May the king issued two proclamations: in the first of these he explained to the nation that the barons were willing to urge the 'community' of the nation to afford him help, provided he reformed the existing evils by their advice and the pope moderated his conditions concerning Sicily; in the second he bound himself to abide by the advice of the twenty-four.[3] The first step of the committee was to send an embassy to France, of which Simon formed part, apparently to prolong the truce, but really to implore Louis IX not to interfere with their plans of reform, which would tend to the joint benefit of their own and the surrounding countries.[4] They occupied the sea-ports as a measure of precaution, and took care that the gates of London were shut every night.[5]

The barons assembled at Oxford, fully armed themselves, and accompanied by all who owed them service. The ostensible pretext was the unsettled state of the Welsh border, but the real reason lay in the distrust of the foreigners. Their first step was to present a long statement of their grievances with accompanying petitions

[1] Burton, p. 445; Rymer, i, p. 371.
[2] M. Paris, iii, pp. 267–9, 271–3, 278 80.
[3] Rymer, i, pp. 370–1.
[4] M. Paris, iii, p. 280; Rymer, i, p. 371.
[5] M. Paris, iii, p. 286.

for redress. These fell under three heads. First, they complained of the many wrongs committed by the king as their feudal lord; of the misuse of the king's privileges during minorities; of the uncertainty of the forest boundaries; of the alienation of fiefs to monastic houses; of the sale by widows of their dower lands, which were not their property, but only to be held during life and then returned to the estate; of the difficulty caused when the king granted exemption from jury service to so many knights in one county that the legal business could not be carried on, and so suitors could not obtain justice. Next, they made many complaints concerning foreigners, how they held the king's castles, married the royal wards, and built castles by the sea-side or on islands, which might prove extremely dangerous to the land. Finally, they complained of pecuniary exactions; as when barons holding lands in several counties were fined for not performing the impossible feat of appearing before the justices in several places at once; or when the sheriff did not fine men according to the crime, but held them to ransom at sums beyond their means, and exacted money in countless ways. While this list of wrongs concerned the barons most nearly and while it lacked the width of national application so evident in 1215, other classes were not forgotten. Merchants were concerned in the attempt to restrain the king's right of purveyance to what was necessary for his household, and in the removal of the grievances which hindered foreign merchants from entering England, to the great loss of trade. All classes were affected by the oppressive usury of the Jews and the money-lenders from Cahors, by the refusal of the barons to allow debtors to repay debt and interest to the former, and by the loss to the royal revenue due to the avoidance by the latter of the tallages exacted from the citizens of

London. All classes were burdened by the heavy fines levied on the surrounding villages nearest to the spot where a man had been found slain or drowned, when no evidence was forthcoming to clear up the mystery of his death.[1] Furthermore, they demanded the exact observance of the great charter of 1215 and the appointment of a justiciar to administer impartial justice to rich and poor.[2]

The king admitted the reasonableness of these demands, and both he and his son took an oath to grant them, but his half-brothers refused to be bound. After several days of fruitless discussion, the barons met in the hall of the Dominican convent and swore a solemn oath that 'they would not, for life or death, for loss of lands, for love or hate, falter in their plans for purifying their native land from unworthy foreigners and for regaining just laws'. Prince Edward soon began to regret taking the oath, and his cousin Henry, son of king Richard of Germany, refused to take it without his father's consent, whereupon he was bluntly told that even his father would not keep a single furrow of land in England, unless he threw in his lot with the barons. Simon at once surrendered his castles of Kenilworth and Odiham, although he had recently spent a lot of money in repairing them. But the king's half-brothers blustered and vowed they would never surrender anything while life remained in their bodies. Simon cut them short with the plain issue: 'Your castles or your lives.' The Poitevins were in great perplexity, for they knew that, if they took refuge in a castle and were left in peace by the barons, the whole body of the people would besiege them there and raze their castle to the ground. They threw their enemies off the scent by ordering dinner to be prepared for them,

[1] Burton, pp. 438–43. [2] M. Paris, iii, p. 286.

and hastened out of the city at full speed. As they fled, their men ascended the vantage-points on the way to see whether they were being pursued. They did not draw rein till they reached Wolvesey castle, the fortress of the bishop-elect of Winchester.[1] To their dinner may be applied the words of Horace:

> When guilty pomp the drawn sword sees
> Hung o'er her, richest feasts in vain
> Strain their sweet juice her taste to please;

and to their ride the line:

> Cares close behind the horsemen ride.[2]

Wolvesey had originally been a royal palace; St. Swithun may have built its outer walls, which contained many Roman bricks. Alfred spent much of his time there, caused the Saxon Chronicle to be begun within its walls, and himself contributed to it for twenty years. The manuscript was chained to a desk so that all might read it. It was at Wolvesey that the Welsh delivered their tribute of three hundred wolves' heads to Edgar the Peaceful, but ceased to come after three years because none were left.[3] Henry I made his nephew, Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, and, during the troubled reign of Stephen, the bishop held Wolvesey castle for his brother the king, while Robert of Gloucester and Matilda held the castle of Winchester. The burning missiles hurled from the tower of Wolvesey set fire to the city and burnt the stately abbey of Hyde, long an object of envy and spoliation on the part of Henry. After the death of Stephen the bishop gathered together his treasure and took refuge with his old community of Cluny. Henry II

[1] M. Paris, iii, pp. 287–8.
[2] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 1 (Conington's translation).
[3] *Polit. Hist. of England*, i, p. 357.

at once took advantage of his absence to destroy the strong tower of Wolvesey.[1] Hither the Poitevins fled in 1258, but were not long left in peace. Aymer warned his brothers that they were paying the price of their past ill deeds, for the English had begged for mercy when they showered oppressions on them. These they might impute to their stewards and bailiffs. There was no remedy but flight, after the arrival of the king and the barons in pursuit of them. 'Let us go!' he exclaimed. They retired to his town house at Southwark and there gave a farewell dinner at which many nobles were present. Of the guests many were afterwards ill, and some died, probably as the result of poison. The abbot of Westminster and a brother of Richard of Gloucester died, while the earl of Gloucester himself only recovered through the skilful treatment of the Dominican John of St. Giles, who had once cured Grosseteste in a similar manner. The earl of Albemarle and others were chosen to give the Poitevins safe conduct to Dover, where Richard Gray, recently appointed keeper of the castle by the barons, took from them the money which they were going to carry abroad. At the same time the barons seized for the benefit of the court the huge sum which they had deposited at the Temple in London. Henry, eldest son of the earl of Leicester, with or without his father's approval, followed them to France and stirred up ill feeling against them. The French felt great respect for Simon de Montfort on account of his noble birth and his soldierly skill, and were amazed to hear that a young upstart had given him the lie and branded him as an old traitor. The fugitives asked permission from Louis IX to stay at Boulogne or to travel home through France, and for the bishop-elect of Winchester to settle at Paris

[1] Kitchin, *Winchester*, pp. 12, 14–15, 37, 90–91, 94, 129.

as a student. But he refused on account of a rumour that they had insulted the queen of England, sister to his own queen, and that they had been expelled in disgrace. The barons sent to Rome four knights of eloquent speech, who should expose to the pope the character and deeds of the bishop-elect. They also bore a letter in support of their verbal complaints, sealed with the seals of the barons, and they hastened to be at Rome before him, lest he should obtain consecration by means of bribes and return more powerful against the national cause. When he was returning from Rome in 1260, after his consecration, he died at Paris. 'L'homme propose, et Dieu dispose'; all of him that reached Winchester was his heart in a gold casket, which was buried there. Eventually the others were allowed to return to Poitou through France.[1]

Meanwhile vigorous action was being taken at Oxford to secure reform. Of the first committee of twenty-four the chief members were the king's half-brothers, Aymer of Winchester, William of Valence, and Guy of Lusignan. With them were his brother-in-law, the earl of Warenne, and John Mansel, provost of Beverley, who had amassed a fortune in the royal service. It was only two years since he had entertained the royal family at a banquet so numerously attended that 700 dishes hardly sufficed for the first course. Henry of Germany, the king's nephew, hovered between both parties, like the bat between the beasts and the birds; he was the Falkland of this earlier civil war, with the virtues and the weaknesses of the moderate who sees the good on both sides. Among the representatives of the barons' views on the committee were Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of

[1] Burton, pp. 457-60; *Dunstable*, pp. 209 and 211; M. Paris, iii, pp. 289-94, 298, 300-1, 334-5; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 8-9; Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 6; Rymer, i, pp. 373-4; *Winchester*, p. 99.

Worcester, Simon de Montfort, and his cousin Peter, the earls of Gloucester, Hereford, and Norfolk. Some of their twelve members remained staunch to the end, but others joined the king before the battle of Lewes.[1] The twelve on each side proceeded to choose two from the opposite twelve ; from the king's party were chosen the earl of Warwick and John Mansel, from the barons' party Roger and Hugh Bigod. These four then proceeded to elect fifteen to act as the royal council ; among these were the archbishop of Canterbury, Peter of Savoy, and no less than nine of the barons' party, which gave them a clear majority. Their business was to advise the king on all matters pertaining to the government of the kingdom, to amend and redress all wrongs. Their authority was supreme over the justiciar and all other officials. They were to attend the three fixed parliaments in spring, summer, and winter, but the king could summon them at other times, if necessary. In order to save expense, the 'community' were to name twelve others to attend with them and agreed to be bound by the decisions of this joint committee. The original council of twenty-four were to reform the state of the Church. A separate committee of twenty-four, chosen on behalf of the community, were to treat of the aid demanded by the king for the war.[2] Hugh Bigod, a man of strict integrity and a member of the barons' party, was chosen justiciar ; Henry of Wengham remained in charge of the great seal ; but John of Crakehall, formerly steward to bishop Grosseteste, soon took the place of Philip Lovell as treasurer. Very strict oaths were imposed on these committees and officials, and sheriffs were to have their accounts audited yearly.[3]

[1] Burton, p. 447. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 446–55.
[3] *Dunstable*, p. 210 ; M. Paris, iii, p. 306.

The form of government thus arranged cannot be regarded as satisfactory. It transferred power from the king to the barons, not to the nation as a whole. The greater barons evaded their responsibilities by leaving them to the committees; the smaller freeholders, the townsfolk and the clergy, were passed over in silence. The barons had eased their shoulders of the burden of a long journey to parliament, but they had not invited to it any of those classes who were longing to take their part in the government of the country. The governing committee was a feudal oligarchy, holding the reins of government for the benefit of its own class. One chronicler relates that Simon had at first refused to take the oath and openly showed his dislike of the provisions. This was doubtless because he thought them unworkable. When he was finally persuaded to take the oath, he exclaimed: 'By the arm of St. James, though I take the oath last of all and against my will, I will keep it inviolate, and none shall hinder me.'[1] The one real victory won at Oxford was the departure of the foreigners. A list of castles was drawn up which were to be committed to Englishmen; amongst them London was to be held by the justiciar. The refusal of the Poitevins to agree checked the course of business, until Henry III wrote a letter and ordered John Mansel to proceed with the appointment of the committees and the reformation of the kingdom.[2] Then the barons and the king proceeded to Winchester, where their show of firmness weakened the courage of the Lusignans, so that they preferred to depart rather than take an oath of good behaviour and remain in the charge of the barons. They were allowed to take with them six thousand marks, but

[1] Bémont, p. 178 and note; Lanercost, p. 67; Prothero, p. 200.

[2] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 127-8.

apparently contrived to take more than the sum allowed.[1] After their departure prince Edward accepted the provisions drawn up at Oxford, and they were also submitted by Simon to the mayor and aldermen of London in the Guildhall. The citizens accepted them gladly and received at the same time a charter giving them fuller liberty of trading. The king issued a letter approving of all that had been done,[2] and ordered inquiries to be made into all abuses.[3] He issued a proclamation in English and French, declaring publicly his assent to all that had been arranged.[4] Then he wrote to the men of Rutland, asking them to be patient, because matters that had been long mismanaged could not be righted in a moment.[5] The castle of Winchester was put into the charge of Simon de Montfort.

During the summer of 1258 Simon formed one of four deputies sent to a meeting at Cambrai of legates from France, Germany, and England; but the barons advised Henry III to stay at home. When they arrived, they found that Louis IX had stayed away on account of the absence of Henry III, and therefore nothing could be done.[6] An incident that occurred in July of this year showed the real feelings of the king towards his brother-in-law. He had left his palace at Westminster one sultry day and entered his barge on the Thames, to enjoy his dinner in the fresh air. Unfortunately a thunderstorm came on, with heavy rain and lightning. As the king was very much afraid of thunderstorms, he ordered his men to row to the shore and landed opposite

[1] Burton, pp. 444–5; Rymer, i, p. 377.
[2] *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, pp. 38–9; *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 129.
[3] Burton, p. 456; Rymer, i, p. 375.
[4] Rymer, i, p. 378; *Select Charters*, pp. 396–400.
[5] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 130–2.
[6] M. Paris, iii, pp. 306–7.

the town house of the bishop of Durham, then occupied by earl Simon. The earl hastened to welcome him and cheered him with the remark that there was nothing more to fear, because the storm had passed away. The king replied: 'I fear thunder and lightning exceedingly; but I fear you more than all the thunder and lightning in the world.' Simon replied calmly: 'It is unjust and unworthy of belief, my lord, that you should fear me, your firm friend, always faithful to you and your realm. You should rather fear your enemies and lying flatterers.'[1]

For the time being, the ship of reform sailed over smooth waters and under bright skies. Great things were hoped for from the provisions. 'Their adoption will prove the advantage of the whole realm.'[2] The chronicler of Waverley described the barons as men wakened out of sleep by divine power and as raising their spirits like a lion ready to face any attack.[3] A monk of Burton received a letter from a friend present at Oxford, in which he wrote: 'Great and arduous are the matters to be settled by the barons, and they cannot easily be carried through; but they go boldly forward with their tasks. May fortune grant them a good ending!'[4] In November, 1258, Henry wrote to his brother, Richard of Germany, to inform him of the events of the year and to beg him to take the oath required by the barons in the event of a visit to England.[5] When the barons heard that he was coming in January, 1259, they were alarmed lest he should disturb their reforms and smuggle over in his train some of the banished. Therefore they sent a deputation to visit him on the Continent and demand from him the oath imposed on the

[1] M. Paris, iii, pp. 294–5.
[2] Prothero, p. 207, note.
[3] *Waverley*, p. 350.
[4] Burton, p. 445.
[5] *Royal Letters*. ii, pp. 132–3.

king at Oxford. He replied haughtily that he had no peer in England and ought to have been consulted in any proposed reforms. One of the deputies would have made an angry reply, but his colleagues restrained him. They reported the result of their embassy to the barons at home; as words had failed, resort was had to deeds. An army was assembled on the coast, and the vessels of the Cinque Ports were made ready in case of attack. But, in response to a letter from his brother, Richard agreed to take the oath.[1] In the chapter-house at Canterbury he swore on the holy gospels to join with the barons in reforming the kingdom of England, too often disturbed by evil counsellors. 'This oath I will keep unbroken, on pain of losing my English lands.'[2] He received a joyous welcome from the citizens of London, as an old favourite and a mediator between both parties.

Unfortunately, discontent was not slow to manifest itself. The barons forbade wool to be sold to foreigners. The hatred of the latter reached such a pitch that murder was done in London in open daylight, and not a finger was lifted against the murderers. The former papal envoy, Rustand, had entered a monastery and resigned his prebend at St. Paul's; soon an Italian priest arrived with letters from the pope appointing him to the vacant stall. He was installed on the 27th February, 1259. As he left the church with his two companions, three young men of obscure rank met them, slew him near the door of the church and then pursued his friends till a like fate overtook them.[3] The justiciar incurred odium by his severe administration of the law. He infringed the rights of the sheriffs in London. A boy from Dunstable stole

[1] Rymer, i, p. 380.
[2] M. Paris, iii, pp. 316–20.
[3] *Dunstable*, p. 214.

sixty marks at St. Albans and carried them to a man of his own town, who then quitted it and bought himself a life annuity elsewhere. But he was discovered and detained on suspicion until he managed to escape from prison and flee from England. On hearing of the theft, the justiciar sent word that he must be detained until his arrival. From Bedford he summoned the monastery of Dunstable to bring the accused before him; this they could not do because he had escaped. When they pleaded privilege and said they were not bound to leave their town, the justiciar sent a second summons. When this was disregarded, he seized all their property into the king's hand, and they had to follow him as far as Huntingdon, before he released it on payment of a fine of ten marks.[1] When he and his fellow justices were at Ware in Hertfordshire, they summoned the men of St. Albans to bring their cases before them for trial, but the abbot protested against such a violation of the liberties and customs of his church. As the justiciar went from county to county, he was accompanied by skilled judges, who had taken an oath to do justice to all without respect of persons and without accepting bribes. They examined thoroughly into all the cases brought before them by the four knights in each county, redressed many longstanding wrongs and yielded to none, however influential, who would move them from the path of justice by prayers or promises.[2] To add to the other troubles, the crops failed in 1259 as well as in 1258. Wheat had promised so well in the early part of the year that, if it had ripened, there would have been a yield sufficient for two years; but the summer was so dry and the autumn so wet that the crops fell below expectations. Pestilence broke out as well and,

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 211–2.

[2] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 426–7.

being no respecter of persons, carried off the bishop of London.[1]

But the greatest danger lay in the tendency of the barons to disunion. Some of them were influenced by the queen and prince Edward to join the king in breaking away from their party, and disregarded the oath they had taken on the holy gospels to observe the provisions.[2] A grave danger lay in the very fact that the leader of this national uprising against foreigners was himself a foreigner and held Winchester, one of the keys of the land.[3] He was absent in France during the greater part of this year on public and private business, to the great regret of the barons and the people.[4] However, he was present at the spring parliament of 1259 and explained the present state of the negotiations with France. On the 10th March his name appeared among those of five ambassadors appointed to treat with the French.[5] On the 1st April they started on their journey, carrying with them their credentials as well as instructions concerning the giving up of all claims to Normandy.[6] Before the earl left England, he had an unfortunate quarrel with the earl of Gloucester. The chronicler does not report the exact cause, but Simon burst out angrily: 'I do not care to have anything to do with fickle and faithless men. We have all joined in swearing to carry out the plans we are discussing. As for you, my lord of Gloucester, the higher your position, the more are you bound to carry out these wholesome statutes.' Very soon after, Simon left England for France. In their alarm the other barons put pressure on Gloucester to invite him back, and he took

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, pp. 425–39.
[2] *Tewkesbury*, p. 175; *Wykes*, p. 133.
[3] Pauli, pp. 90–1.
[4] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 420–1; M. Paris, iii, p. 316.
[5] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 138.
[6] M. Paris, iii, p. 324.

immediate steps to see that the provisions were carried out on his own lands.[1] Public feeling sided strongly with Leicester, and a bold appeal was made to Gloucester in a song of the day:

O lord of Gloucester, now complete thy task;
In thee is much deception, if thou fail
To end the work for which the land doth ask.
With bold and ready courage men prevail,
Then cherish England's cause with hand so strong,
And bring safe home to port the ship of state.
If thou withdraw thy help and do us wrong,
Which God forbid! accursèd be thy fate![2]

In October of this year (1259) the knights as a body were so dissatisfied with the progress of reform that they addressed a remonstrance to prince Edward. In this they stated that the barons were simply seeking their own personal profit and doing nothing for the benefit of the kingdom; if things were not speedily improved, they would seek redress by other means. Edward replied that he intended to keep the oath he had sworn at Oxford, although against his own will; but he would support their remonstrance. As the barons preferred to perform their own work, they issued a fresh set of provisions known as the Provisions of Westminster. These dealt chiefly with the details of feudal service and tended to define and restrict feudal power. For example, feudal lords might not in future hear appeals from the courts of their own tenants, but all such appeals must go to the king's courts. Feudal service was to be paid according to what was customary at the time of Henry III's expedition to Brittany in 1230. The justices were to grant fair pleading and not to impose excessive fines. Earls and barons, bishops and abbots, were exempted

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 326–7. [2] *Political Songs*, pp. 122–3.

from the jurisdiction of local courts except in the case of the district where they actually lived. Four knights in each county were to keep an eye on the sheriff. Two trustworthy men or two members of the council were to survey the working of the courts at London to ensure that strict justice was done. No one should come to parliament armed, or on horseback, or with an armed retinue. When the king went abroad, some of the council should accompany him and some remain with the justiciar.[1] Special justices were sent round to hear and amend all the wrongs of the past seven years that had either not yet received redress or been only partially heard and not settled. Each sheriff was to cause twelve fit men to be chosen to aid the justices in the necessary inquiries.[2] Considering that these limitations of feudal power emanated from the feudal magnates, their spirit was eminently fair. But again the barons were forgetting that—

> Not all the water in the rough rude sea
> Can wash the balm from an anointed king;
> The breath of worldly men cannot depose
> The deputy elected by the Lord.[3]

The quarrel between Gloucester and Leicester broke out again on the Continent, whither both had gone on one of the many embassies of this year for concluding a final peace with Louis IX. The latter insisted that all claims must be renounced, not only by Henry III, but by all possible claimants, among whom Eleanor was included. She was unwilling to resign any possible rights of her sons and won over her husband to her view, so that a violent quarrel broke out between Leicester and

[1] Burton, pp. 471–84; Pearson, ii, pp. 226–7; *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 394–8; *Select Charters*, pp. 400–5.

[2] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 141–2.

[3] Shakespeare, *Richard II*, iii, 2.

Gloucester, who looked upon them as a grasping pair.[1] They nearly came to blows, but were separated by friends amid the jeers of the French.[2] Several claims were under consideration. There was the longstanding claim of England to all her former possessions in France, including Normandy, which Louis personally was inclined to consider just.[3] Then there was Henry's claim for the return of Agenois. Originally this country had belonged to Eleanor of Aquitaine, but had been given by Richard I to his sister Joanna as her dowry on her marriage to Raymond of Toulouse. Finally, on the failure of her heirs, it had fallen to the king of France under a treaty made with Raymond VII of Toulouse. Now Henry was claiming it back on behalf of himself, his brother, and sister. But he was quite willing to resign his claims in return for an annual payment, and renounced his claims in the name of his brother and sister as well as of himself. But in reality he was not sure of his sister, so the agreement was drawn up in two forms, of which one mentioned, and the other omitted, her name. Henry III promised specially to indemnify Louis IX in case of any claim by Eleanor and her children.[4] Power was then given to the earl of Gloucester along with others to conclude the arrangement.[5] As she was obdurate, he lost his temper and quarrelled with her husband. But other motives entered in. Henry was probably seeking the money to sustain his cause against the barons, if they came to blows; when he announced the conclusion of the final treaty, he wrote to the archbishop of Messina to say that he hoped to prosecute the Sicilian affair more vigorously.[6]

[1] Osney, p. 123.
[2] M. Paris, iii, p. 327.
[3] Guizot, iii, p. 244; Kitchin, *France*, i, p. 337, note.
[4] Rymer, i, p. 385.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 386.
[6] *Royal Letters*, ii, 147-8.

But Louis' sense of justice made him insist on a full renunciation by all the parties concerned; Eleanor yielded on condition that 15,000 marks of the sum to be received by Henry should be deposited in the Temple at Paris. This was to remain in the care of arbitrators until they had settled her claims against Henry for dowry money. The first ones chosen either declined or failed to arrive at a decision; then Henry appointed the earl of Gloucester, who was not acceptable; so that finally the whole question was referred to the earls of Hereford and Norfolk and Philip Basset.

The countess's chief grievance was that her brother had granted her £400 a year for her dower lands, when they were really worth 2,000 marks, more than three times what she was receiving. She asserted that her brother had affixed her seal to this arrangement without her consent, and now she demanded either the lands in full possession with payment of arrears or the full yearly value in future. However, the claim was decided against her, for she continued to receive only £400 a year, though she was given some further grants of land, which were not sufficient to clear off the arrears due to her. At the same time earl Simon, who was holding the earldom of Bigorre on behalf of his wife as security for the king's debts to her, resigned it to the king for a thousand marks a year for seven years and a promise to marry his niece to a royal ward with £500 a year in land, or to give her a marriage portion of a thousand marks, if she married according to her own choice. The princes Edward and Edmund resigned their claims to Normandy, and the English council ratified the proposed treaty with France. Simon and Eleanor only renounced their rights later on. By the Peace of Paris[1] Louis IX

[1] Bémont, p. 182, note.

gave up to Henry III Limousin, Périgord, Quercy, and part of Saintonge; Henry in return resigned all claims to Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, and did homage to Louis as his overlord for Aquitaine. The people of Périgord were so angry at this exchange that for years they refused to observe the festival of St. Louis, after he was canonized. The French council were also angry and remonstrated with their king. The peace-maker replied: 'I believe that the king of England justly lost his Norman lands, and I do not restore any lands to him because I am bound to do so, but to create good feeling between his children and mine, who are cousins. It is also well done, because he has now become my liege man.' Henry now dropped the titles of duke of Normandy and count of Anjou, and received a present of £300, while the lands given up to him were worth £20,000 a year. Louis was to furnish him with five hundred soldiers for two years, to be used for the service of God and the Church or the benefit of England according to the advice of upright men chosen by the king and the barons.[1] On the 4th December, Eleanor signed a complete renunciation of her claims, and at the same time her husband renounced all claims to Toulouse, Béziers, or any other lands held by his father during his Albigensian crusade. This renunciation left Alphonse, the French king's brother, in complete and undisputed possession of Toulouse. Simon and Eleanor must have made a good impression on the king and queen of France, in spite of Eleanor's obduracy over her claims, because they were in future their firm friends and

[1] Bémont, pp. 183-4; Green, *Princesses*, ii, 114-18 and 457 8; Guizot, iii, pp. 244-5; Joinville, p. 151; Kitchin, *France*, i, p. 337; M. Paris, iii, pp. 331-2; Rishanger, *Chronica*, pp. 1-2; Rymer, i, pp. 384-92.

eventually proved faithful protectors of Eleanor during the years of her widowhood.

In the short period of two years, England had been relieved of the burdens and dangers caused by a misguided foreign policy, and its internal condition had considerably improved. The two opposing parties were more clearly defined than before, but disunion and distrust were sad omens for the future success of the baronial party. Further, Henry III had now refilled his empty coffers and finally employed the chief part of the money paid to him by Louis IX in carrying on the civil war, though he quietened his conscience by sending a small sum to the Holy Land.[1]

[1] Bémont, note on pp. 184–5.

STEPNEY PUBLIC
WHITECHAPEL
LIBRARIES

CHAPTER XI

REACTION

WHEN Henry went to France in November, 1259, he left behind as regents the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Worcester, the earl marshal, Hugh Bigod the justiciar, and Philip Basset; his choice of the three latter, though members of the baronial party, showed that they were wavering, and in 1264 they were on his side.[1] In January, 1260, he wrote to the justiciar to apologize for his prolonged absence from his kingdom, explaining that it was due to the marriage of his daughter Beatrice to John of Brittany, which had to be postponed on account of the death of the eldest son of Louis IX. Negotiations for this marriage had begun earlier, but had been protracted, because the count of Brittany had seized the opportunity to try and recover the earldom of Richmond for his son as part of the dowry, but Henry III explained that it had been granted to Peter of Savoy, and could not be taken away without his consent.[2] Instead he had transferred to the bridegroom a pension out of the sum due to him from Louis IX for the county of Agenois.[3] He was also waiting to hear the decision of the arbitrators as to the sum due to him from Louis. He added directions that the spring parliament was not to be held in his absence.[4] In the next month he wrote again

[1] Prothero, p. 222.

[2] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 132–4; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 441; Rymer, i, p. 391.

[3] Rymer, i, p. 392.

[4] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 148–50.

to the justiciar, giving him orders to prevent the rector of Birmingham, as executor of the late bishop of Ely, from taking anything out of the estate that could be seized for the benefit of the Sicilian expedition, under the pope's previous grant of doubtful legacies for that object.[1] These letters proved that Henry had learnt nothing from the past and was still the same schemer as of old. The Welsh were threatening, therefore parliament must be put off in spite of the definite provision for its meeting; he was once more in possession of money, therefore the bottomless pit of Sicily, which had already swallowed so much good English money, must be filled once more. In a letter addressed to Simon de Montfort and other barons, Henry ascribed his absence to the delay in settling the sum to be paid by Louis IX for providing him with five hundred knights for two years, but under no circumstances must a parliament meet during his absence.[2] Just before, he issued an edict to the sheriffs to see that the roads in their counties were made safe for travellers, and to clear out the hollows where thieves might lurk in the woods and hedges.[3] He also begged the pope to exert his influence to prevent his brother the bishop of Winchester from returning to England, lest disturbances should break out through his presence.[4] But these artifices did not blind Simon to the king's real plans. The former had come back to England, long deprived of his presence, with so many horses and men that Henry was alarmed as to his intentions.[5] On the 10th February he visited the abbey of St. Albans, and after presenting a costly baldekin to the shrine, continued his journey on the following

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 152–3.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 153–5.
[3] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 442.
[4] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 150–2.
[5] Rymer, i, p. 396.

morning.[1] Many thorns lay in his path. The pope had just absolved Henry and Edward from their oath to observe the Provisions of Oxford.[2] He had also administered a decided snub to the barons for presuming to point out to him any evils in the Church. He bade them recall with what care he had insisted on the provision of vicars to serve in the churches which he had presented to his Italian friends. He asserted that he had appointed very few foreigners to English benefices, and he regretted to learn that those whom he had appointed had been treated most unkindly. It was most decidedly not the business of the laity to interfere at all in such questions.[3]

In spite of the king's prohibition, the parliament met at the Temple in London[4] and sent a letter to the king, warning him that, if he did not return at once, he would probably not be allowed to return when he wished.[5] They also turned Peter of Savoy out of the council: this was a mistake, because he had always belonged to the moderate party, and this step made his niece, Queen Eleanor, bitter against the barons.[6] While abroad, Henry III had been troubled by reports as to his son's behaviour; and rumours reached him that the barons were even thinking of making prince Edward regent in place of himself.[7] Distracted by the varying accounts of his son's behaviour, he did not know what to think, and at first determined to take back with him a large force; but finally he was reassured, dismissed all but three hundred knights with their followers, and landed at Dover on St. Mark's Day, 1260. The barons of his

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 443.
[2] M. Paris, iii, p. 333.
[3] Burton, pp. 487–91; Rymer, i, p. 393.
[4] *Winchester*, p. 99.
[5] *Dunstable*, p. 214.
[6] Bémont, pp. 187 and 351.
[7] Pearson, ii, p. 229.

party welcomed him back with joy and honour and escorted him to London.[1] Before crossing the Thames at Southwark, he sent his foreign escort into Surrey. As he intended to stay in London for a time, he placed guards at the city gates to prevent the entrance of any person without his permission. But the earl of Gloucester, John Mansel, and other members of the royal council, had free ingress and egress at their will. He forbade prince Edward or any of the baronial party to come into his presence, exclaiming: 'If my son Edward were to appear in my sight, I could not help giving him the kiss of peace.' At length the father's heart could refrain no longer, and both the king and the queen welcomed their son back, although his mother had probably caused all the trouble by her anger at his consorting with the barons. The king next proceeded to pour out the vials of his wrath on Simon as the seducer of his son from the path of loyalty and resolved to condemn him on many points; but the earl replied so skilfully both by word of mouth and by letter, to these charges, that the parliament were amazed at his cleverness, and the king could do nothing against him.[2] At the same time, the embers of the long-standing quarrel between Leicester and Gloucester were once more fanned into flame. Each gathered forces, and civil war seemed imminent, when Richard of Germany intervened, soothed the angry earls, and restored good feeling on all sides.[3]

On his arrival in London, Henry stayed at the bishop's house near St. Paul's, but such rigorous guard was kept that London had almost the appearance of a besieged city. Most of the barons were forced to remain outside the walls, and the king did not go to his palace at West-

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 446.
[2] *Dunstable*, pp. 214-15.
[3] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 447.

minster until there was a prospect of peace. When he discovered that the abbot and monastery of Peterborough had made themselves sureties for a large sum in aid of Prince Edward, he angrily demanded the same favour for himself; but they declared themselves unable to bear a double burden, whereupon Henry III threatened them with his severe displeasure. When he summoned the parliament to Westminster in July, 1260, it had to deal with Welsh matters. At the time of the parliament at Oxford in 1258, the bishop of Bangor was staying at St. Albans in order to act as ambassador on behalf of Llewelyn, and evidently persuaded the abbey chronicler, Matthew Paris, to believe that the terms offered by the Welsh were quite reasonable.[1] All that was obtained was a truce for a year, but within a month there were complaints of its being broken and commissioners were appointed to discuss the redress of these complaints. In the following year, the truce was again renewed for a year.[2] In the meantime Llewelyn had strengthened his grip on Wales and made preparations for future contingencies. He trained heavy-armed horsemen and prepared engines in readiness for sieges. While he destroyed the castles he captured, he also built others in the same style of architecture.[3] In 1259 the Welsh attacked Neath, but failed to capture it. In the spring of 1260, the bailiff of Builth complained to the Lord of Snowdon that he had carefully obeyed his instructions not to interfere with English merchants, but Roger de Mortimer, who was then holding Builth Castle for Prince Edward, had swooped down on the fair of Leominster, despoiled the Welsh merchants of their goods and even put some

[1] M. Paris, iii, pp. 208 and 312.
[2] Rymer, i, pp. 372, 374, 377, 387.
[3] *Ibid.*, i, p. 423; *Tewkesbury*, pp. 167–8.

in prison.[1] In revenge Llewelyn seized Builth Castle, but Roger was exonerated from blame for its loss.[2] An army was summoned to meet at Chester and Shrewsbury, and the sheriffs received orders to proclaim a muster of the king's tenants within their counties. Llewelyn and his followers were excommunicated by archbishop Boniface. Simon de Montfort was appointed to command the English army as the cleverest and stoutest warrior in England.[3] But eventually Mortimer and Audley met Llewelyn's deputies at Montgomery Ford and concluded a renewal of the truce until the 24th June, 1262.[4]

In June of this year, owing to repeated reminders from the pope, Richard of Germany returned to his kingdom and so deprived England of his steadying influence. During the year, John of Brittany arrived in England with his bride, the king's daughter Beatrice; his father-in-law knighted him along with eighty other young nobles, who would form a welcome addition to the royal party. At the same time, Prince Edward knighted his two cousins, the sons of Simon de Montfort. Many of these newly made knights accompanied Prince Edward on his return to Gascony as governor, so that they could try their strength against the French in tournaments. Unfortunately they had no luck in their encounters.[5] As Simon was absent in France, he allowed his nephew Henry of Germany to fulfil his functions as high steward at the king's banquet on the 13th October, 1260.[6] During the year Hugh Bigod, who had been appointed justiciar

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 156–7.
[2] Rymer, i, p. 398.
[3] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 454.
[4] *Owens College Essays*, pp. 92–4; Rymer, i, pp. 308–9, 400, 404.
[5] *Dunstable*, pp. 216–17; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 456; *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 158–9 and 161–3; Rymer, i, p. 401.
[6] Rymer, i, p. 402.

by the barons in 1258, resigned and was succeeded by Hugh Despenser, a staunch adherent of the baronial party. In May, Henry received five thousand marks from France on behalf of his brother Richard and delivered certain of his jewels as security for that sum; in July, he received £14,583 6*s.* 8*d.* (Tours money) from Louis towards the pay of the five hundred men-at-arms due under the Treaty of Paris.[1] With this money in his coffers, he began to mature his plans for shaking off the tutelage of the barons. During the winter he caused the Tower to be strengthened and fitted up as a royal dwelling; to pay for this work, he burst open the strong-rooms in it where money was stored, and seized it. He had new bars and locks fitted on all the city gates of London.[2] In February, 1261, he took up his residence in the Tower, and on the 13th summoned a meeting of all the inhabitants of London over twelve at St. Paul's Cross. Accompanied by his brother Richard, archbishop Boniface and John Mansel, he compelled them all to take an oath of allegiance to himself and invited volunteers for his army by the proclamation of a herald.[3] He summoned the spring parliament to meet at the Tower, but the barons were apprehensive concerning his plans, on account of the schism between them and the king, and refused to come there, though they were willing to come to their usual meeting-place at Westminster.[4] Nevertheless they came to London with their retainers and camped outside the walls, because they were refused entrance into the city. Civil war was nearer than it had been for years. Throwing off all disguise, Henry at last showed his hand. In his heart of hearts, he was as fond as ever of foreigners

[1] Rymer, i, pp. 397–8. [2] M. Paris, iii, pp. 335–6.
[3] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 464; Rishanger, *Chronica*, pp. 7–8.
[4] *Dunstable*, p. 217.

and grieved that he could not make them the customary grants. He determined to have a change. He called together the barons and addressed them: 'You say that you have increased my treasure and lessened my debts, and you persist in your assertions that this is for the general welfare. You have bound yourselves by oath to observe the provisions, and you have bound me and my son by like oaths. But you have never kept the compact; you have turned everything to your own gain and reduced me to the position of your servant. My treasure has been lessened and my debt increased, and my power has nearly vanished. Therefore, do not wonder that I no longer follow your advice, but break away from you and seek my own remedy for these troubles.' He wrote at once to the pope to absolve him from his oath, to king Louis and prince Edward to furnish all possible help; the former promised a large number of soldiers for seven years at his own cost, and the latter proved himself no longer a youth but already an experienced man in his measures for the restoration of the old order of things.[1]

The king's actions sowed a crop of wild rumours that he was going to demand illegal dues and impose tallages of an amount unknown before; in order to check these, he ordered the sheriffs to proclaim their falsity and to arrest any who spread them.[2] How much reliance could be placed on his denial, was shown by the letters of prince Edmund to Sicily, bidding the nobles make due preparations to receive him as king and welcome him on his arrival, then ordering them to receive his proxies who, after doing homage to the pope on his behalf, were to proceed to Sicily to arrange for his own reception. He also wrote a submissive letter to the pope, to implore for them

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 463–4.
[2] Rymer, i, p. 405.

a kindly welcome at Rome.[1] After Easter, Henry III ventured to leave London and visited Dover, where he took the castle out of the hands of Hugh Bigod and entrusted it to Robert Waleran; everywhere he was received without let or hindrance and recognized that he had been deceived by false reports concerning the barons' loyalty.[2] Yet he wrote to the men of the Cinque Ports to repel Simon de Montfort, if he should attempt to land with men and horses.[3] About a fortnight after Easter, Guy, Count of Saint Pol, arrived in England with eighty men-at-arms and as many crossbowmen;[4] Henry now felt strong enough to strike his blow. He summoned a parliament at Winchester and produced papal bulls absolving him from his oath to the provisions, except in so far as they were for the advantage of the Church. The oath had been extorted by force, and oaths were meant to strengthen faith and truth, not to be the foundation of wicked perfidy. The whole people of the realm were not only absolved from any obligation to respect the provisions, but they were also commanded to render absolute obedience to their king, under pain of excommunication and interdict.[5] Nothing daunted, the barons clung to their plans and sent a deputation to implore Henry III to keep his oath. In harsh and threatening tones, he bade them begone and look to their own safety. With difficulty he was induced to consent to the appointment of three mediators to decide between himself and the barons, but their appointment was put off until the return of Prince Edward, who, on hearing of the outbreak of fresh trouble in England, at once started for

[1] Rymer, i, p. 405.
[2] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 434 and 467–8.
[3] Rymer, i, p. 406.
[4] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 472.
[5] Rymer, i, pp. 405–6.

home at full speed. He brought back with him William of Valence, who was not allowed to land until he had sworn to observe the provisions. Prince Edward was angry at his father's vacillation and adhered to the barons. The latter demanded the dismissal of certain of the royal officials, because there would never be peace between them and the king, so long as he was under their influence. He refused to comply with their request and departed hastily for the Tower, where the hated counsellors took refuge in order to be in safety. Danger healed the divisions among the barons. Leicester and Gloucester were reconciled, and the baronial party vowed either to remove the hateful royal advisers or perish in the attempt.[1] From the safety of the Tower, however, Henry proceeded to appoint a new justiciar and chancellor and to make a wholesale dismissal of the sheriffs, who were replaced by his own nominees. He took into his own hands as many castles as he could get possession of. Hugh Bigod had surrendered the Tower and Dover Castle without any delay, but he wavered over the giving up of Scarborough and Pickering, because he had received them from the barons. The pope sent a positive message that he must obey the king, and the castles were handed over.[2] In spite of the pope's attitude, the bishops and clergy stood by the liberties of England, though they asserted the freedom of the clergy from lay jurisdiction in terms which moved even Henry to protest.[3]

The changes made by Henry were received with the greatest suspicion of his motives and caused disturbances throughout the land; wherever the people could rely on the support of the barons, they utterly refused to have

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 466-7; M. Paris, iii, pp. 336-7.
[2] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 222, note; Rymer, i, p. 409.
[3] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 468 9; Ramsay, p. 193, note.

any dealing with the 'vice-lords', as they called the intruded sheriffs. Henry found it necessary to appeal to the county of Kent to remain as loyal as they had shown themselves during his visit in the spring.[1] In August he issued a general proclamation, declaring that all men were in full enjoyment of their possessions, that all could obtain justice and that none were being wronged. His jealous adversaries were lying when they represented him as plotting to overthrow the old customs, impose heavy taxes, and bring in foreigners to the hurt of the realm. There was no need to be anxious because he had put the castles into the hands of more capable men. If any of the new sheriffs committed injustice, they would at once be removed and full satisfaction given for their wrongs.[2] This was only another illustration of the proverb 'Qui s'excuse s'accuse'. The barons now took a bold step. If the king sought foreign help, they would seek national help. It was resolved to secure the aid of the knights. With this object in view, the bishop of Worcester, the earls of Gloucester and Leicester, summoned three knights from each county, perhaps only from those south of the Trent, to meet them at St. Albans on St. Matthew's Day (the 21st September), in order to discuss remedies for the present troubles. Henry met this move by summoning them to come to Windsor instead, and cleverly hinted that he was doing his best for the good of the realm.[3] There is no evidence to prove whether they met at either place, but in October, Henry was stirred to indignation because in some counties his sheriffs and bailiffs had been replaced by 'wardens of the counties', who had received no commission from him.[4] In

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 473-4; Rymer, i, p. 407.
[2] Rymer, i, pp. 408-9.
[3] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 179; *Select Charters*, pp. 405-6.
[4] *Dunstable*, p. 217; *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 192-3.

October, Richard of Cornwall was arranging for foreign troops to enter England and choosing another port for their landing, if there were likely to be any opposition at the Cinque Ports. Three days later, Henry was issuing safe-conducts for the barons to meet him at Kingston on the 29th October. But they came in such force and so well armed that Henry was afraid to abandon the security of the Tower and summoned a general muster of his own adherents. But wiser counsels prevailed once more, and civil war was again averted.[1] The peacemakers patched up a compromise between the two parties. The outstanding difficulty was the appointment of sheriffs. For the coming year, each county was to send up four knights to the king in January, and he would choose one for sheriff.[2] Six arbitrators, under the direction of Richard of Germany, were to discuss the method of appointment of future sheriffs.[3] On the 7th December, Henry issued a proclamation announcing that all differences between himself and the barons had been mutually settled; among the fourteen names of those invited to sign the agreement appeared that of Simon de Montfort.[4] On the 16th each of these received a special appeal from the king to seal the terms of this peace.[5] In 1262 Richard decided that his brother had absolute power to appoint or remove sheriffs.[6]

During the autumn of 1261 Gloucester had again begun to favour the royal cause and abandoned his old confederates. Simon was so angry that he left England at once, declaring that he would rather die a landless man than be such a traitor as to abandon a just cause.[7]

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 474.
[2] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 198.
[3] Rymer, i, p. 415.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 411.
[5] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 196.
[6] Rymer, i, p. 415.
[7] *Dunstable*, p. 217.

His disgust was so great that he even meditated the fulfilment of his old vow to go to the Crusades in preference to the maintenance of English liberty.[1] In August, 1261, he retired to France and remained there until the spring of 1263, with the possible exception of a hurried visit to England in 1262. The question of Eleanor's dowry had never been finally settled, and the two threads of the minor family dispute and the major national quarrel were unfortunately intertwined on account of the part played by Simon in both. This claim for what was due to his wife, gave his opponents the opportunity to represent him as a covetous, grasping man, seeking his own profit instead of the furtherance of the national cause. Early in 1261, Henry declared that he and his sister and her husband were ready to submit all the points at issue to the arbitration of Louis IX; if he were unwilling, then they begged queen Margaret and Peter the Chamberlain to act in his place. In a second letter, Henry hoped that Louis would act, because he wished to see his English relatives at peace, and asked that the bearer of this letter might bring back word of the time and place appointed for the arbitration. However, Louis replied that he was deeply grieved because he could find no way of peace between them. Though queen Margaret accepted this office, Henry wrote at one time as if both parties had agreed upon other arbitrators, and at another as if they were still depending on her. In the latter of these letters, he stated that the question at issue concerned the barons, but especially the earl and countess of Leicester.[2] By referring these difficulties to the arbitration of the king and queen of France, Henry was

[1] Prothero, p. 235.

[2] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 135–6; *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 168 76; Rymer, i, p. 407.

bearing tacit witness to the deep respect felt for earl Simon in France, where he was more highly esteemed than in England. His connexion with Louis IX probably affords the key to what has been called the riddle of his history.[1] Louis IX would respect his piety, his sincerity, and the strength of his principles, but would have no sympathy whatever with his political views. He had doubtless fathomed the feebleness of Henry's shifty character, but in his eyes that would not justify what he would consider the heinous sin of rebellion. Louis IX and Simon were each a check on the other; respect for Simon prevented Louis from giving his whole sympathy to Henry III; respect for monarchical principles and sympathy with a king prevented him from giving whole-hearted support to Simon de Montfort. A delicate balance of forces was maintained until sheer force of circumstances upset it. Henry showed that he felt the strength of Simon's case and the justice of Louis's character when he wrote in September, 1261, after the departure of the former for France, to beg the latter not to be influenced by him.[2] He was much upset to find that the barons maintained an envoy at the papal court to represent their side of the case to the pope, and that he evidently had considerable weight with him. They were not unmindful of the lessons Henry himself had given them in the delicate art of duplicity, when they bade their representative act in the name of the king.[3] In April, 1262, Henry hinted politely that he would like to see Louis again, and was offered hospitality at either Poissy or Saint Maur-les-Fossés, of which he chose the latter. Unfortunately he was seized with fever during

[1] Prothero, p. 221; *Quarterly Review*, vol. cxix, p. 50.
[2] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 121; Rymer, i, p. 409.
[3] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 188–92 and 209–10.

the visit and was consequently unable to complete the business on which he had travelled to France; in September he wrote to his brother from Saint Germain-des-Prés to say that he could walk about his bedroom, and hoped soon to be able to enjoy his usual food. Several of the nobles and many of the attendants in his suite were taken ill at the same time; at least two of the former and sixty of the latter died.[1] On the return journey, Henry visited some of the shrines in Burgundy to pray for complete restoration to health and got as far as Rheims; he also took advantage of his nearness to Flanders to arrange with the Flemish merchants loans for the satisfaction of his French creditors. In December, 1262, he landed at Dover and kept the Christmas Feast at Canterbury.[2] During Henry's visit to France, queen Margaret wished to bring Henry and Simon together to settle their differences, but the latter took advantage of the former's absence from his kingdom to hasten across the Channel; he was present at the autumn parliament, at which he read letters showing papal sympathy with the baronial party.[3]

In December, 1261, Henry had received a large sum from Louis IX, but was hindered in making full use of it for his purposes, by the fact that pope Alexander IV had died in May, only a few days after issuing the bull of absolution. The tiny college of eight cardinals, assembled at Viterbo, spent three months in jealous dispute

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 219; Taxster, p. 138.

[2] Rymer, i, pp. 418 and 420–3.

[3] Champollion-Figeac, p. 136; Rymer, i, p. 422. In a note on p. 198 M. Bémont doubts whether Simon de Montfort came to England in October, 1262, but Rymer, i, p. 422, gives the words of Henry III 'Idem comes regnum nostrum ingressus'. Ramsay, p. 197, and Prothero, p. 239, with note on pp. 239 40, accept the letter in Rymer and produce confirmatory evidence.

over a successor, when the fortunate appearance of Jacques Pantaleone, patriarch of Jerusalem, relieved them from their difficulty. He was at once elected and thus the son of a cobbler at Troyes rose to the highest earthly position then known. However unfortunate for Italy his choice of Charles of Anjou for king of Sicily was to prove, England was presently indebted to him for its final and complete release from the Sicilian millstone which had hung round its neck so long and so heavily.[1] At first he appeared to hesitate between the rival envoys who put before him the contending claims of Henry III and his barons; but after Henry wrote to him in January and March, 1262, congratulating him on his elevation to the papacy, he replied by a confirmation of his predecessor's release from the oath. In May, Henry proclaimed himself absolutely freed from all obligation to observe the provisions of Oxford and denounced those who still heeded them; but he held himself still bound by the Great Charter and the Charter of Forests.[2] The two Henries were still in evidence. The one was willing to go on crusade to Africa with the king of Castile, as soon as his realm was at peace; the other was smitten with compunction at the unfavourable omen portended by the burning of his palace at Westminster, ornamented with so much skill and taste; he was finally persuaded by wise advisers to come to terms with his barons.[3]

In January, 1263, Henry sent envoys to Louis IX to implore him to settle terms of peace between himself and the earl of Leicester, because the latter had long disturbed both his own quiet of mind and the state of the realm.[4] In the following month he received from them

[1] Milman, vi, pp. 357–8, and 361–3.
[2] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 206–7; Rymer, i, pp. 414 and 419.
[3] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 477. [4] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 234.

a letter which must have caused him bitter disappointment. They informed him that Louis was unwilling to accept any further responsibility in the matter, because he had just had a long conversation with the earl. The latter told the former that Henry was surrounded by evil counsellors, who did not care greatly about peace. Louis was fully convinced of the goodwill of the earl towards the king, and felt obliged to comply with the earl's wish that he should drop the question.[1] Negotiations had failed. The turn of the sword would come soon.

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 242–3.

CHAPTER XII

THE BARONS' WAR

THE stars in their courses were fighting for Simon and the barons. In the summer of 1262, his rival the earl of Gloucester died, and his young son attached himself to his father's foe and refused to do homage to prince Edward.[1] Many of the younger nobles, especially those who as royal wards had been married to foreign brides, allied themselves with Simon.[2] The scholars of Oxford were among his keenest supporters, although their numbers and zeal far exceeded their fighting capacity. Even prince Edward was at present lukewarm towards his father. The barons recognized this when they offered to make a truce with him and observe it faithfully.[3] Simon was described as 'the key of England, which had locked the harbours against the aliens and admitted none'.[4] When he returned to England about the 25th April, 1263, it was to take his place at the head of the baronial party;[5] after he had once put his hand to the plough, he was not the man to turn back. There was a general feeling that the country was in a serious condition.

An outburst of national feeling had recently caused the Greeks to banish their Latin emperor, Baldwin II; they had been helped by the Genoese as standing enemies of the Venetians, who supported Baldwin, and

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 220.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[3] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 244–5.
[4] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 10.
[5] Prothero, p. 240, note.

the latter had fled to Italy in the Venetian fleet. The pope longed to assume the mantle of his great predecessors and to emulate their exploits by turning Baldwin's empty title into a solid reality, therefore he began to seek help for his plans. Two nuncios came to England, but were bluntly told that England was in such extremities as to need help more than the foreign prince did.[1]

But the greatest help to the barons' cause came from the troubles on the Welsh border. During the summer of 1262, before the truce expired, Roger Mortimer and John Lestrange made inroads on the lands of Gruffydd of Bromfield, and Llewelyn demanded redress; in reply Henry ordered the earl of Hereford and James of Audley to meet the Welsh envoys at Montgomery Ford on the 24th July.[2] The meeting was prevented by the earl's illness, and Henry postponed it to the 30th September.[3] But the same insincerity that had showed itself in Henry's dealings with his barons, was displayed in these Welsh negotiations. Hearing a rumour that Llewelyn was dead, Henry ordered a general muster at Shrewsbury on the 7th September, in order that he might play the part of overlord of Wales and settle the Welsh succession to his liking.[4] 'Tel maître, tel valet.' On the very day when a peaceful meeting had been arranged between the justiciar of Chester and representatives of the Welsh, the former plundered and burnt the lands of Gruffydd of Bromfield.[5] Llewelyn then showed that two could play at the same game. Peter of Montfort, although a staunch supporter of his cousin Simon, was warden of Abergavenny castle and had to withstand fierce attacks by the Welsh.

[1] Cox, *Crusades*, pp. 174–5; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 478–9.
[2] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 214–15; Rymer, i, p. 420.
[3] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 216–17.
[4] Rymer, i, p. 420.
[5] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 218–19.

He resisted them successfully, but was obliged to write and inform the council that he could not bear the great expense and would soon be forced to let his castle furnished and leave the land to its fate.[1] When Henry returned from France in December, he received a letter from Peter to warn him that South Wales was going over to Llewelyn and that he was unable to wage war against such a great host without support in men and money.[2] Letters from Henry reproaching Llewelyn probably crossed those from the latter, in which he complained of the conduct of Roger Mortimer.[3]

The trouble spread to the centre of Wales, and many castles were captured by the Welsh. Llewelyn was said to have three hundred men-at-arms and thirty thousand infantry.[4] Even Mortimer was obliged to ask for terms and retire. Cheshire was devastated, and the English took refuge in Gloucester and Hereford. In obedience to an urgent summons, prince Edward hastened back from France and proceeded straight to the border. But he brought with him a band of foreign mercenaries and thus alienated the sympathy of the barons, who were keener to expel his mercenaries than to aid him.[5] In April, he set out from Shrewsbury and led his army into North Wales; but the Welsh retired into their fastnesses, and the only result of his expedition was the replenishing of the English outposts of Deganwy and Diserth.[6] He was obliged to take his foreign mercenaries to Windsor and then settled down at Bristol as a convenient centre for checkmating either the Welsh or the barons. But he

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 219–21.
[2] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 476; *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 230–1.
[3] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 227 and 232–3.
[4] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 476; Rymer, i, p. 423.
[5] Burton, p. 500; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 478.
[6] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 478.

was soon too deeply immersed in English affairs to bother about Wales, and then Llewelyn seized his chance. He soon captured Diserth and levelled it to the ground, but Deganwy held out until the autumn, in spite of the failure of attempts to revictual it and to come to terms with the Welsh prince.[1] Finally it fell on the 29th September. Not only did Llewelyn's victories aid Simon de Montfort indirectly, but there was also distinct co-operation between the two.[2] A faithful friend of the barons sent them a letter full of wise advice during the year 1263; he warned Simon against enriching his own family. What had they to do with spoil or gain, who were labouring for the common good? He feared an invasion by Louis IX and advised the barons to enter into relations with Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; in case of Simon's death, they must at once appoint a new commander.[3]

In May, 1263, Simon received reinforcements of men and supplies of arms through Dover.[4] At Whitsuntide he called a parliament of his supporters at Oxford, without the king's knowledge; this was numerously attended. It was resolved to demand from Henry a fresh recognition of the provisions of Oxford, and to outlaw all who refused to obey them. A second attempt to win his acceptance was accompanied by a promise to modify any term considered prejudicial to king or country, but on no account must the provisions against aliens be touched, as they were the common custom of all lands. When Henry declined to give his assent to these demands, the barons drew the sword and unfurled the flag in his name. They soon gathered a formidable host. The

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 225; Rymer, i, p. 433.
[2] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 20; Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 20.
[3] *Tewkesbury*, pp. 179-80. [4] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 245-6.

two best-hated men in England were the Savoyard[1] bishop of Hereford, Peter of Aigueblanche, because he had devised the scheme of drawing fraudulent bills in the name of the English clergy, and the bishop of Norwich, because he was concerned with the bull relieving Henry from his oath. Both were at once attacked, but the latter was fortunate enough to reach sanctuary at Bury St. Edmunds. The former was seized in his cathedral and carried prisoner to Eardisley, along with the foreign canons whom he had brought into his church; his money was confiscated and his lands plundered. The main force of the barons marched to Gloucester, which was held by a foreign knight, Matthew de Besille, who had been substituted by Henry III in 1261 for the baronial official. The town fell on the fourth day, and Matthew was confined at Eardisley. While detachments secured Worcester and Bridgnorth, Simon marched to Bristol.[2] Everywhere the lands of foreigners were seized and plundered, and the foreign clergy expelled. In the meantime, prince Edward had gone to Dover to secure its allegiance to himself,[3] and Simon deemed it necessary to proceed thither as quickly as possible to secure it for himself. On the way down, he declined to see Richard of Germany at a meeting-place between Reading and Guildford, and reached Reigate on the 30th June.[4] When the earl arrived at Dover, prince Edmund refused to surrender the castle, until he received peremptory orders from his father.[5]

[1] So Prothero, p. 111, Ramsay, p. 100, and Davis, p. 421; but Bémont, p. 200, quotes Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 11, where he is described as 'natione Burgundus'.

[2] *Dunstable*, pp. 221–2; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 479–80; *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, pp. 737–9; Taxster, p. 139.

[3] Rymer, i, p. 427.

[4] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 247–8.

[5] Rymer, i, pp. 427–8.

When prince Edward returned from Kent to London at the end of June, he found himself short of money and tried to borrow from the citizens of London; but they had shown their adherence to Simon by the joyous shouts with which they welcomed his letter bidding them proclaim the provisions of Oxford in their city. The prince burst his way into the Temple, smashed the money-chests with iron hammers, and seized the treasures stored there as in a bank. Then he hastened to Windsor. But the citizens were so angry that the king and queen were almost prisoners in the Tower; the houses of John de Grey and Simon Passelewe were sacked, and thirty-two horses were taken from the former's stables. John Mansel was an especial object of hatred, on account of the huge fortune he had amassed and the aid he had given to the pope in absolving Henry III from his oath; he fled from the Tower in fear of his life and took refuge in France. He held so many benefices that he refused to sacrifice them for a bishopric, in which position he would have been poorer, and also obliged to live more circumspectly.[1] The contrast between his former wealth and his later poverty was so striking that he might have said with Wolsey:

> I have ventured,
> Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
> This many summers in a sea of glory,
> But far beyond my depth: my high-blown pride
> At length broke under me and now has left me,
> Weary and old with service, to the mercy
> Of a rude stream, that must for ever hide me.[2]

Henry of Germany pursued him across the Channel, but was seized by a French knight, probably at the

[1] Blaauw, *Barons' War*, p. 96; Melrose, p. 214.
[2] Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, iii, 2.

instigation of queen Eleanor. The queen had made herself specially obnoxious. She had at first suffered the banishment of the Poitevins, but when her own relations were in danger of expulsion, she turned round with serpentine cunning and persuaded the king against the provisions. Now she tried to escape from London in order to join her son at Windsor, but as the royal barge passed up the river, the citizens gathered on London Bridge and assailed her with insults and showers of mud and stones, so that she was compelled to retire, until the mayor rescued her and placed her in safety in the bishop's palace at St. Paul's.[1]

Meanwhile, Richard of Germany was working hard in the interests of peace, the more so because the barons were insisting on the release of his son Henry, which was effected by Louis IX. In these efforts he was supported by the bishops of Lichfield, Lincoln, London, and Worcester. Finally he persuaded his brother to renew the provisions and yield up certain castles. Simon now came from Dover to London, where the citizens received him with joy and honour. He asked the king plainly whether he meant to observe the provisions, and he agreed on the understanding that they should be revised by a committee appointed for the purpose.[2] In the meantime, prince Edward had dashed off to Bristol, had a sharp quarrel with the citizens, and been rescued by the bishop of Worcester, but failed to observe the conditions. He had now returned to Windsor and refused to give it up, so the barons marched against him. Civil war is a powerful dissolvent of all virtues. Prince Edward was invited to meet the barons at Kingston,

[1] *Dunstable*, pp. 222–3; *Melrose*, pp. 191–2; *Political Songs*, pp. 62–3; *Tewkesbury*, p. 177; *Waverley*, p. 355.

[2] *Dunstable*, p. 224; Rymer, i, pp. 427–8.

but they held him prisoner until the foreign garrison at Windsor took an oath to depart from England and never return.[1] At a parliament held in London from the 8th to 11th September, 1263, at which many barons were present, but only a few of the king's supporters, Simon unfolded the lofty plans for reform which he hoped to carry out.[2] A royal charter was also read in which Henry agreed to abide by the provisions of Oxford.[3] But Simon could not control the storm he had raised. There were complaints of the violence of his followers and of attacks on innocent persons. It was probably at this parliament that the suggestion was made of submitting the whole question of the provisions of Oxford to the arbitration of the king of France. Soon afterwards prince Edward presented his cousin Henry of Germany with the manor of Tickhill, and the latter visited the earl of Leicester to plead for his release from the barons' party. He could not fight against his father and his uncle, but he would never fight against the earl. The latter replied boldly: 'Lord Henry, I do not grieve at the loss of your sword, but at your lack of constancy; I hoped for great things from you. But go and return against me, I fear you not. Though all should forsake me, yet I and my four sons will stand by the just cause which I have sworn to defend, for the honour of the Church and the welfare of the kingdom.'[4]

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 481-3; Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 19.

[2] It was perhaps at this parliament that a comparison was made between the English system of leaving the whole of an estate to the eldest son, and the French system of sharing it among all the sons. The main argument was that the former system drove younger sons to seek their fortunes elsewhere, and sent many of them to France. Though Henry III and Simon were favourable, nothing resulted. Bémont, pp. 261-2, note.

[3] *Dunstable*, p. 224.

[4] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 17.

The latter part of the year 1263 saw a great change in Leicester's prospects. His haughty manner, the violence of his followers,[1] the monarchical instincts of many among the feudal lords, the attractions and the bribes of prince Edward, had drawn many away from the barons' side, and a distinct party was beginning to gather round the prince. The latter was offended with the earl of Derby, an unstable man faithful to neither side, who had seized three of the prince's castles and refused to give them up.[2] Several of the lords of the March came over to Edward's side, and he won over Roger Mortimer by presenting him with three of Leicester's manors, on which he swooped without delay.[3] London too was divided; the richer citizens were against Simon, but the poorer were enthusiastic in his cause and elected a democratic mayor in spite of the king's opposition. In August the king of France summoned the king and queen, the prince, the earl, and many others, to appear before him at Boulogne; on their arrival during the month of September, they found a brave show of French nobles. King Henry accused earl Simon of personal insults, of unlawful imprisonment, of seizing royal castles, and of sacrilege; but the latter answered these charges to the satisfaction of Louis, and then begged permission to return to England to take part in the discussions concerning the provisions.[4] Prince Edward was unable to agree to the terms proposed and retired to Windsor, where his father joined him on his return from France. Then the earl took up his quarters in the Tower and expelled his chief opponents from the city. He was

[1] Taxster, p. 139; *Wykes*, pp. 136 and 153-4.
[2] *Dunstable*, p. 224; Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 13.
[3] *Dunstable*, p. 226; Rymer, i, p. 430.
[4] *Dunstable*, p. 225; *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 249-50; Rymer, i, p. 432.

unwilling to attend a council at Reading, and went to Kenilworth to see that the castle was ready for defence in case of need; he had strengthened the walls and erected machines of war, brought from the Continent at great expense, while he and the countess maintained a stout garrison there.[1] From Reading the king hastened with a strong force to Dover, but his host was refused admittance. He came, he sought, he failed. The king alone would have been admitted, but the constable's son declined to admit the army in his father's absence without a warrant from the king and the Oxford barons. News of this attempt woke Simon from his rest, and he returned to London; at Northampton the citizens pledged their allegiance to him, and at Dunstable he was admitted to the brotherhood of the priory of Augustinian canons. He intended to march from London to meet the king at Dover, but as the latter was returning through the Weald, certain citizens of London met him, and promised that Simon should not enter the city on his return out of Kent, when he learned that Henry had left Dover. They locked the gates and flung the keys into the Thames. For this act they were afterwards fined, and the money used to strengthen the fortifications of London.[2] Royal forces came up, and the earl was trapped between them and the river; nevertheless, on being summoned, he refused to surrender and prepared to sell his life dearly. He and his men made their confession, received the communion, and then fastened the cross on chest and back. But the people of London, hearing of the peril, rushed to the gates, burst them open, and rescued the earl from his precarious position.[3] Then the king retired

[1] Green, *Princesses*, ii, pp. 123–4.
[2] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 16.
[3] *Dunstable*, p. 226.

from Southwark to Croydon, and issued a proclamation bidding the citizens expel the earl from their city.[1]

Things could not continue as they were. The clergy and the people of the realm learnt with a sigh of relief that, owing to the mediation of certain bishops, Henry and Simon had agreed to refer the question of the provisions of Oxford to the arbitration of the king of France.[2] It is difficult to perceive why Simon agreed to this. Disgust with the hesitation of his English supporters made him exclaim to his intimate friends: 'I have been in many lands, both pagan and Christian, but nowhere have I found such faithlessness and deceit as in England.'[3] As a man of unswerving fidelity, he might expect Louis to be as firm as he was just. But papal influence was at work. At the instigation of queen Eleanor, John Mansel obtained letters from Urban IV, in which he bade the king of France thwart and upset the provisions of Oxford.[4] The pope also wrote directly to Simon, rebuking him for being a leader in sedition and for falling from the high estate of his ancestors.[5] Louis may have been slightly influenced by the complete renunciation on the part of Henry of all claim to Sicily, which left the way open for the accession of his brother Charles of Anjou. But the most probable reason for Louis's final decision was the French conception of monarchy as unlimited. An autocratic ruler would consider any attempt to limit a monarch's power as due to a spirit of disorder and turbulence.[6] In December Henry issued a proclamation declaring that he had no intention of bringing foreign mercenaries into England and was quite willing to observe the provisions of Oxford. Both sides sealed agree-

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 250–1.
[2] Prothero, p. 255, note.
[3] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 17–18.
[4] *Tewkesbury*, p. 179.
[5] Pauli, p. 129.
[6] Pearson, ii, p. 239.

ments to abide by the decision of Louis.[1] The royal party crossed in a terrible storm and landed at Witsand with great difficulty. On the way from Kenilworth, Simon's horse unfortunately fell, and the earl fractured his leg, so that he had to be carried back home.[2] In consequence the barons' party were represented by a deputation, of which the most important members were Humphrey Bohun, Henry and Peter de Montfort.[3] Several days were occupied with the formal statement of their case by both sides, and then on the 24th January, 1264, Louis gave his decision, known as the Mise of Amiens.

Louis, in accordance with the pope's advice, utterly quashed the provisions on the ground that they had injured the crown, the Church, and the realm. All castles were to be handed back to Henry, who was to have complete choice of all officers of state, from justiciar to sheriff. He must have full power to rule his kingdom according to his own will, and he might employ foreigners if he chose. But all charters granted before 1258 were to hold good. In conclusion, Louis exhorted Henry to forgive the barons and bear them no ill-will.[4] Two bulls from Urban IV confirmed the decision of Louis.[5] The whole work of five years was thus undone by a stroke of the pen, and the forces of reaction were banded together against the liberties of England. Popular opinion was strongly against the decision, and Louis was hailed as an unjust judge; even a royalist chronicler considered

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 251–2; *Tewkesbury*, p. 176; Taxster, p. 140.

[2] *Dunstable*, p. 227. [3] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 122–3.

[4] Rymer, i, pp. 433–4; *Tewkesbury*, pp. 177–9; *Oxenedes*, p. 226, says that Louis quashed the provisions of Oxford owing to a bribe paid him by Henry III.

[5] Rymer, i, pp. 436–7.

him lacking in wisdom.[1] The middle class, as represented by the merchants of London and the mariners of the Cinque Ports, formed the core of the opposition. When the barons at once began hostilities, they stood for the national cause.[2] Henry sent orders to the sheriff of Gloucester to break down all the bridges over the Severn except that at Gloucester, and about the same time received an offer of help from Robert Neville, who wished to fortify Pontefract and ally to himself Bruce and other northern lords.[3] Simon divided his men into three parts, and sent one body under his son Henry to the Welsh border, but his cousin Edward easily neutralized his efforts. Certain of the barons, with the help of the Welsh, captured Radnor Castle from Mortimer and destroyed it, but prince Edward gave him Huntingdon and Hay in its stead.[4] A baronial force under the earl of Derby captured Worcester, then united with Henry de Montfort outside Gloucester. Two of the barons entered the city by a clever ruse; they pretended to be Welsh chapmen come with their packs to do business. The porter opened the gate to give them entrance; once inside, they cast off their Welsh cloaks, their friends rushed up, and the city was won. Prince Edward also came to Gloucester on his way back from Wales and got into the castle by means of a boat on the Severn. Through the mediation of the bishop of Worcester, a truce was made and Henry de Montfort retired to Kenilworth. After his departure, prince Edward wreaked his vengeance on the townsfolk of Gloucester by fines and imprisonment. This was the first of the many mistakes

[1] Blaauw, p. 98, note; Prothero, p. 261, note.
[2] Blaauw, p. 102, note.
[3] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 253–5.
[4] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 486; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 20.

made by Simon's sons. Had Henry captured the prince now, the war would soon have been at an end. Instead he joined his father at Oxford, after ravaging the lands of all the opponents which he passed on his way thither.[1]

On Henry III's return from France he was refused admittance to Dover Castle and then passed on to Windsor, where he stayed about a fortnight, after which he marched to Reading. He had chosen Oxford as a convenient centre of operations. A little earlier prince Edward had been refused admittance to the city and been forced to lodge in the king's hall, Beaumont Palace, outside the walls. Then broke out a furious riot between town and gown, which gave Henry III a pretext for ordering the students to go home.[2] They joined the barons' army, and according to one account numbered 15,000.[3] When Simon led his host to Brackley, a last attempt at negotiation took place. The earl met the king's envoys in the presence of John de Valentin, a messenger from Louis IX. A second meeting was held, but at its conclusion Henry summoned his levies to meet at Oxford. The crucial point was the admittance of foreigners to office in England. Simon agreed to accept the Mise of Amiens with that exception, but the royal council were even then arranging for the return of archbishop Boniface and other foreign clergy.[4] 'The whole quarrel arose from the favour shown to foreigners.'[5] During his visit to Oxford Henry III lodged at the house of the Dominicans, and was apparently persuaded by them to break a spell that had hung over Oxford for

[1] *Dunstable*, pp. 227–8; *Owens College Essays*, pp. 103–5; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 20–1; *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, pp. 740–7.

[2] *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, pp. 741–3; Rymer, i, p. 435.

[3] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 22.

[4] Rymer, i, pp. 437–8.

[5] Prothero, p. 266, note.

many years. St. Frideswide, the patron saint of Oxford, was a king's daughter who had chosen a life of virginity and refused to marry a king. When he persecuted her on account of her refusal, she fled to Oxford; he pursued her thither, but was smitten blind in answer to her prayers, as he drew near to the city gate with his followers. Affliction wrought repentence; repentance sought pardon; pardon brought restoration of sight. The saint established a convent at Oxford and died there. A legend grew up that it was unsafe for the kings of England to enter the city or approach her shrine. The Dominicans persuaded their guest that a holy king might safely do what had been unsafe for his wicked predecessors. They offered up prayers and masses on his behalf, and two of them supported the fasting king as he advanced barefooted up the church to offer his gifts at the altar.[1]

After the failure of the conference at Brackley, Simon de Montfort marched to London, leaving a strong force to defend Northampton. Henry marched out of Oxford with his Dragon standard carried in front of him and appeared before that town, which would probably have resisted all attacks but for treachery within the walls. The Cluniac priory of St. Andrew had a garden adjoining the town walls. It was a cell of a French monastery on the Loire, and the prior and many of the monks were Frenchmen. These removed some of the stones in the town wall and replaced them with timber; then they sent word to Henry of what they had done. Thus a party of forty knights under Philip Basset easily gained admittance into the town and captured it. Simon the younger charged them so fiercely that his horse carried him through their midst into the breach, where he was

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 22; *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, pp. 746–7.

easily secured The castle held out till the next day, when many prisoners were taken and the town given over to plunder.[1] Henry III passed on to Leicester, where he dispelled another superstition against the entrance of kings, and to Nottingham, where he was joined by a party of northern barons. Prince Edward was sent to ravage the lands of the rebels in Derbyshire and Staffordshire. John Giffard, a bold and honest soldier, was in command of Kenilworth for the earl of Leicester, and he marched to Warwick, captured the castle there, and brought its masters back as prisoners.[2]

When Simon arrived in London, the citizens concluded an alliance with the barons for twelve years;[3] but his report of the failure at Brackley caused at outburst of popular fury. The rioters destroyed the house and gardens of Richard of Germany at Isleworth, broke down the mill and emptied the fishponds belonging to the manor, and plundered the town houses of several of the hated royalists. On hearing of the siege of Northampton, Simon set out to its relief, but heard of its fall at St. Albans, and at once returned to London because the city was full of wild rumours. The Jews were said to have constructed a secret passage to a city gate and prepared keys to unlock it, while they had Greek fire ready to burn down the city. Many were slain and their houses plundered. But the Jews were not likely to help a king who squeezed them at will on the slightest pretext, and the whole affair was an outbreak of popular frenzy. The mayor protected them to the utmost of his power. A like fate befell the Jews of Canterbury.[4]

[1] *Dunstable*, pp. 229-30; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 23-4.
[2] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 488-9; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 25.
[3] Prothero, p. 268.
[4] *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, p. 61; *Dunstable*, p. 230; Rishanger,

On hearing of the capture of his son Simon exclaimed to his familiar friends: 'Let them rejoice now; before the end of May their rejoicings will all be forgotten.'[1] While Henry III lingered at Nottingham and prince Edward captured Tutbury Castle, Simon gathered his forces together and advanced on Rochester. It was strongly held for the king and had recently received reinforcements from Oxford. Gloucester attacked from the south and Leicester from the north. The latter had brought a siege train by water. His first attack failed to carry the bridge, but the next day a fire-ship burnt both the bridge and the adjoining city gate. Simon's men crossed in boats and both earls attacked simultaneously. The town was carried and plundered; even the cathedral was desecrated, fugitives dragged from the altars, the records burnt, and horses stabled in the cloisters.[2] Next day the outer bailey of the castle was captured, but the attack on the castle was dropped owing to news of the king's approach. The royal army covered 156 miles in five days. As the king passed through Kingston, the citizens of London were alarmed at his near approach, and some treacherously planned to betray the city to him; therefore the mayor sent to Simon for help, so that he marched back, and Gloucester withdrew to Tonbridge.[3] Wherever the royal army went, it was accompanied by plunder, fire, and slaughter; the few soldiers left by the barons at Rochester were barbarously mutilated. From Rochester Henry III advanced to Tonbridge, where the castle yielded at once, and the king allowed his niece, the countess of Gloucester, to depart in peace. He hastened

Barons' War, pp. 24–5; *Wykes*, pp. 142 3, says that Simon took 'non modicam portionem' of the Jewish plunder.

[1] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 25–6 and 126–8.

[3] *Dunstable*, p. 231.

to the Cinque Ports, hoping to obtain vessels there for an attack on London and to secure a port of entry for the mercenaries which queen Eleanor was said to be raising in Flanders; but the shipmasters had sent their vessels to sea loaded with their stores and goods.[1] The king took hostages and marched to Battle, where he summoned the men of the Weald to his aid with horses and arms, and through Hurstmonceux to Lewes, where he arrived on the 11th May.[2] The king took up his quarters in the priory, while the prince occupied the castle. The priory was one of the chief daughters of Cluny and named after the boy-martyr Pancras, one of the victims of Diocletian's persecution; a legend was current at Rome that, if false swearers approached his tomb, they were possessed of the devil, and either went mad or fell down dead. The pious king was doubtless present at the celebrations of the saint's day on the 12th May. The castle, together with extensive estates in the county, was held by John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, who was connected with some of the barons through his mother and with the king through his marriage to his half-sister Alice in 1247. He had recently renounced Simon's party and come back to the king's side.

At an assembly of bishops, clergy, and barons, held in London on the 4th May, it was decided to make an offer of terms to Henry III. It must be admitted that the barons' party did everything possible to keep the peace; certainly two, perhaps three, embassies were sent. The original plan was to offer a sum of money as compensa-

[1] *Waverley*, p. 356.

[2] Blaauw, *Barons' War*, pp. 113–14; Kingsford, *Song of Lewes*, pp. 151–2; *Wykes*, pp. 147–8, says that the king's march through Surrey and Kent was hindered by parties of Welsh archers, who were beheaded whenever they were caught.

tion for all the damage done during the past months, if only the king would accept the provisions of Oxford. On the same day Simon knighted Henry Hastings and John Fitz-John. Two days later he left London with the barons' army, reinforced by 15,000 Londoners, and marched to Fletching, a village then surrounded by trees about six miles north of Lewes. On the 12th May Stephen Berkstead, bishop of Chichester, accompanied by some Franciscan friars, went to Lewes with the offer of the barons; they were willing to pay 50,000 marks as compensation for damages, provided the king would make peace with them and carry out the provisions of Oxford. Certain churchmen should also be chosen to decide which statutes should be observed and which oaths should be binding. To this offer the two kings and prince Edward returned haughty answers and released the two earls of Leicester and Gloucester from all fealty to them; the king of Germany claimed the whole sum offered for his own losses alone. On the 13th May another attempt at peace was made by the bishops of London and Worcester, prelates of a different stamp from the innocent bishop of Chichester; the latter of them belonged to the noble family of Cantilupe, and both had taken an active part in the political events of recent years. They bore with them the following letter from the barons. 'Since it is apparent by many proofs that certain persons among those who surround you have uttered many falsehoods against us to your lordship, devising all the evil in their power, not only towards us, but towards yourself and the whole kingdom.

'May your excellency know, that we wish to preserve the health and safety of your person with all our might, and with the fidelity due to you, proposing only to resist by all means in our power those persons who are not

only our enemies but yours and those of the whole kingdom. May it please you not to believe their falsehoods.'[1]

When the two bishops had been admitted to the king's presence in the refectory of the Priory, a loud clamour followed the statement of their terms, and prince Edward burst out: 'They shall have no peace, unless they put halters round their necks and surrender themselves for us to hang them up or drag them down, as we please.' The written replies were both haughty and discourteous, so that, with the king's defiance and the bishops' return, both sides committed the decision to war.

The King defied and laid them under ban,
Their love and truth to him he held but light;
The Barons could adopt no other plan
But pray God's grace and face the foe in fight.[2]

The different spirit prevailing in the baronial army was thus described: 'In them was one faith and one will in all things; they were full of love to God and their neighbour, and so unanimous in brotherly affection that they feared not to die for their country.'[3] The contrast between the two armies was clearly marked by their differing manner of spending the previous evening. Earl Simon, who was accustomed to devote more of the night to prayers than to sleep, spent the night in prayer, while the zealous Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester,[4] went through the ranks, urging the soldiers to confession and giving them absolution. Then all put a white cross on front and back, to show that they were fighting for justice

[1] Blaauw, *Barons' War*, p. 122.
[2] *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, p. 749.
[3] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 494-5.
[4] *Melrose*, p. 193, describes him as more of a soldier than a bishop, as more skilled with the sword than the pastoral staff.

and to enable them to distinguish each other. Far different was the scene in Lewes, where the king's men spent the night in revelry. Song, dance, and winecup did not satisfy the soldiers, but they polluted even the very church with their vices.[1]

At Fletching Simon knighted Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, John de Burgh, and many others. In default of church and altar, they kept their vigil under the woods.[2] Before sunrise the army of the barons started their march towards the town. Dense forest covered the surrounding country, but the earl had issued such careful orders that the march was carried out with perfect regularity. Near Lewes, the army turned and ascended the ridge of downs above the town. It was strange that no tenants carried word from the hamlets round to their lords in Lewes. The royal sentinels on guard at the outposts grew tired and left one of their number on duty, who went to sleep. The first alarm was given by a party of foragers who came into contact with the barons' advance guard; of that party several were killed. The barons' army advanced along the ridge until they came within sight of the priory tower, when Simon dismounted and addressed his troops: 'Beloved comrades and followers, we are about to fight to-day for the sake of the government of the country, in honour of God, blessed Mary, the saints, and our mother church, and at the same time for the observance of our faith. Let us pray to the King of all that, if our undertaking please Him, He will grant us vigour and help, that we may overpower the malice of our enemies. If we are His, to Him we commend body and soul.' All

[1] Blaauw, pp. 143–6; *Lanercost*, p. 74; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 6 and 30.

[2] *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, p. 749.

fell on the ground, extending their arms in the form of a cross and praying: 'Grant, O Lord, our desire, with mighty victory, to the honour of Thy Name.'[1]

On the crest of the downs, divided by hollows into three points stretching towards Lewes, Montfort separated his forces into four divisions. On the left he placed the citizens of London, brave and zealous but undisciplined, under Nicholas de Segrave, Henry de Hastings, and Hervey de Borham. The centre was led by the newly made knight, Gilbert de Clare; while the earl's sons, Henry and Guy, commanded the right. Simon himself was with the reserve, ready to aid the other divisions, as he watched their fortunes from his vantage-point. Among his followers may be named Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, Hugh le Despenser, and John Giffard, 'ever to the front, wise, valiant, and active.'

> Of many barons bold,
> The names cannot be told,
> So vast their wide array.[2]

Before the battle began, the secretary of Richard of Germany hastily wrote a letter, which Henry signed as a full receipt of the money due to him from Louis IX under the Treaty of Paris.[3]

In the royal army prince Edward held the right and issued from the castle to mount the hill in front of him; on the left, the king of Germany and his son Henry faced his nephews. The king of England, who had never shown any capacity for war, took his stand in front of his bodyguard of three hundred knights. Unfurled before him was the Dragon standard, of red samite with figure

[1] Blaauw, pp. 149–50; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 30–2 and 130.

[2] Blaauw, p. 154; *Political Songs*, pp. 59–60; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 32.

[3] Blaauw, pp. 166–7; Rymer, i, p. 440.

of gold, its tongue moving and its eyes of sapphire; this was the sign of a combat to the death. After the trumpets had given the signal, prince Edward dashed forward to avenge on the Londoners their insults to his mother; these, 'ready for war in words, but unskilled in military art', were unable to withstand the onset of mounted men-at-arms and soon broke. For four miles the pursuit was pressed hard with sad loss, for the prince thirsted for their blood; sixty were driven into a stream and drowned. When Simon was travelling from Kenilworth on his way to Amiens in December, 1263, his horse fell at Catesby in Northamptonshire, so that the earl broke his leg and had to be carried in a litter. This was brought to Lewes and placed in the rear among the baggage, under the guard of William le Blund. Possibly it had been made in London and covered with iron. As it was surrounded by the earl's standard and pennons, the royal army would easily imagine that Simon lay there disabled, whether he purposely left it there to deceive them or not. The best of the prince's troops were seized with madness and shouted wildly: 'Come out, Simon, thou devil, come out of the carriage!' But within were shut either two honourable citizens of London who had constantly opposed the earl, or the four who had acted treacherously against him and shut the gates in his face. Their cries from within were drowned by the shouts, and the unlucky men were slain by their own friends.[1]

Meanwhile Simon was striving to get possession of the

[1] Blaauw, pp. 168 and 172, note; *Dunstable*, p. 227; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 495-6; Hutton, *Simon de Montfort and his Cause*, p. 124; *Melrose*, pp. 193-4; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 31 and 131; Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 27; *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, p. 749; *Oxenedes*, pp. 221-3, says that a party of soldiers were sent by the barons to set Lewes on fire before the battle, so that the king must either burn, be drowned in flight, or come out to fight.

king, knowing well that the sheep would scatter the moment the shepherd fell. The king's left was soon thrown into confusion by the showers of stones flung from above ;[1] at the right moment there flashed out the lightning valour of the barons, Simon brought up his reserve and threw the king of Germany into confusion, then turned to the centre under the king. When he had been wounded and two horses had fallen beneath him, he took refuge in the priory. His brother Richard had seized a windmill, and his capture there gave rise to many jests and much merriment. About eight o'clock in the evening, prince Edward returned to find the battle lost, largely through his reckless pursuit. Making a circuit of the town, he reached the castle, where Warenne's banner still flew on the keep, and then sought the priory to learn his father's fate. Of the fugitives, many were drowned in the river and the marshes ; some were even sucked into the swamps by the sheer weight of their armour. William de Valence, Guy de Lusignan, John de Warenne, Hugh Bigod, succeeded in crossing the bridge, galloped to Pevensey, embarked the next day for France, and carried the sad news to the queen. Meanwhile, fierce resistance was still being offered at both castle and priory, and the garrison of the former set the town on fire, which caused the baronial party to fire the priory in retaliation. Prince Edward was mustering his men for a sally, when Simon de Montfort suggested a truce till the morrow, and this was accepted. Contrary to all expectation, the barons had gained a glorious victory, the praise of which they ascribed to Him by whose aid they had been supported.[2]

[1] *Melrose*, p. 193, says that the stones fell 'more tonitrui'.

[2] Blaauw, p. 176 ; *Melrose*, p. 196 ; *Political Songs*, pp. 69–70 ; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 33–4 ; *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, p. 750 ; *Wykes*,

During the night Simon de Montfort blockaded both castle and priory so closely that escape was hopeless, and on Thursday, the 15th May, four commissioners met to draw up the Mise of Lewes, by which five arbitrators were chosen to settle all the points at issue except the release of prisoners. The decision of any three was to hold good. Only Englishmen were to be chosen as counsellors, and those men loyal to king and kingdom. The king was to be guided by them in doing justice and appointing officials. He was to renew Magna Charta and the Forest Charter, and to live moderately until his debts were paid off and he could live on his own income without oppression to merchants or poor men. When the award was fully confirmed, then the hostages, prince Edward and prince Henry of Germany, should be released on undertaking to maintain peace and prevent war. Full security was to be granted to the earls of Leicester and Gloucester and their adherents, that they should not be molested in future. The agreement to be made between both parties should be discussed and finally settled by next Easter at the latest. On Friday the princes were handed over as hostages for their fathers and conducted by Henry de Montfort to Dover Castle.[1]

> With willing heart or not, Edward,
> Thou shalt ride spurless on thy steed,
> The straightest road to Dover ward.[2]

On Saturday the king dismissed his followers, most of whom returned home at once, though some overtook and slew at Croydon a party of Londoners returning from

p. 153, says that Simon shut up his captives in prison and loaded them with chains.

[1] Blaauw, pp. 190-5; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 498; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 37–8.

[2] *Political Songs*, p. 71.

the battle, and then joined the garrison of Tonbridge Castle.

Leaving Lewes on Saturday, the 17th May, Simon de Montfort took the king to Battle abbey, where he issued orders to the governor of Windsor to release certain prisoners taken at Northampton, among whom was Simon junior. From Rochester on the 25th May, the king wrote to the town and county of Derby to proclaim the peace between himself and the barons. He arrived in London on the 28th May and issued orders for the delivery to Henry de Montfort of Dover and the Cinque Ports. Unfortunately the palace at Westminster had been burnt in 1262, so the king had to reside in the bishop of London's house near St. Paul's. On the 2nd June orders were sent that the Jews who had taken refuge in Northampton Castle should return into the town, and on the 4th that the prisoners in custody there should be brought to London, to be exchanged man for man with those taken at Lewes. On the same day it was forbidden to carry arms, and guardians of the peace were appointed in each county. In 1255 Henry III had handed over the Jews to his brother Richard in return for 5,000 marks; on the 11th June they were allowed to return to their homes in London and committed to the care of the mayor.[1]

Simon de Montfort had won a great victory and was practically master of England. It now remained to be seen whether he and his party could govern better than the king.

[1] Blaauw, p. 201; Palgrave, *Collected Works*, vi, pp. 250-1, and vii, pp. 858-62; Rymer i, pp. 315, 441-3.

STEPNEY PUBLIC LIBRARIES WHITECHAPEL

CHAPTER XIII

THE TEST

WHEN minor matters had been set in order, a parliament was summoned to meet on the 23rd June, and orders were sent to the guardians of the peace in each county to see that four knights of good standing were elected and sent up to represent it. As Simon de Montfort was a devout lover of the Church, he began his legislation by securing to the bishops and clergy all their lawful rights. To confine them to their proper sphere, they were forbidden to carry arms. In cases where an ecclesiastic and a layman were concerned, the bishop was to be judge. Three bishops were to be chosen to decide the sum of money to be paid to the Church as recompense for the damages done during the disturbances of the last year. Archbishop Boniface was bidden to return and perform the duties of his office.[1] In this way Simon repaid the clergy for their staunch support of the popular cause. But the great work of this parliament lay in the ordinance or scheme of government drawn up and confirmed in the following March. By this, three electors were to be chosen who would swear to do their best for the king and the realm; they were to choose nine councillors, of whom three were to be always present with the king and by whose advice he was to transact all the business of state. These nine were to aid the king in his choice of the chief officers of state. If any of these councillors should prove unworthy, the

[1] Rymer, i, pp. 443–4.

king might remove him and appoint another in his place with the help of the electors. If the nine councillors could not agree on any matter, the three electors were to decide for them. If any of the electors proved incapable, the king might dismiss him and appoint a successor after consultation with the parliament. The first three electors were the earls of Leicester and Gloucester and the bishop of Chichester, and they were ordered to choose the nine councillors.[1]

This constitution was a proof of Simon's statemanship, though it was in advance of the political thought of his day. It left the king the working head of the kingdom, though it gave him a body of advisers; it was thus a distinct step on the ladder of progress from autocratic rule to limited monarchy. But the scheme never received a fair chance. 'Silent leges inter arma.' The forces of reaction were at work. The queen was seeking the help of Louis IX, and the fugitives from Lewes were gathering round her; she was raising money in Gascony to pay for auxiliaries and seeking the aid of the pope against the bishops and the barons.[2] By the autumn she had collected a large army in Flanders, ready to cross with the first favourable wind. But Simon took all possible precautions. The bishops held a convocation at St. Paul's and drew up an appeal to the pope against interference by a legate, because they were quite competent to deal with offences against the Church committed during the past troubles. A national army was gathered with pay for its forty days' service; each town sent its share of foot-soldiers in addition to the retainers of the military tenants. The ships of the Cinque Ports patrolled the seas, the counties watched their own coasts, the people flocked to Barham Down

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 443-4.

[2] *Dunstable*, p. 233; Rymer, i, p. 448.

near Canterbury for the defence of their country. The clergy did their share by a contribution of tithes. Letters were sent to Louis asking him to prevent an attack on England from his territory, and to allow French envoys to meet English envoys at Boulogne for joint discussion. With the approach of winter the foreign army dispersed, and the danger of invasion vanished.[1] Simon and his fellow barons were now able to turn their thoughts to the arbitration proposed after Lewes, and nominated five arbitrators, with two substitutes in case of need, to arrange a lasting peace between Henry and Simon; but it was expressly stipulated that the ordinance of government was to be left untouched and that all castles and public offices were to remain in the hands of Englishmen. On the surety of eight bishops, Henry of Germany was released from his detention in Dover Castle, in order that he might proceed to France and further the arbitration. On their arrival at Boulogne, the English envoys were mobbed and some of their followers killed. The papal legate, Guy Foulquois, cardinal of Sabina, was demanding entrance into England under pain of the direst penalties. When this was refused, he summoned the English bishops, but they made the excuse that the barons would not let them go and sent proctors in their stead. The legate refused to recognize the latter and bade the bishops publish the papal ban against the barons. By this they were bidden to release the king and the hostages and to restore to the former his full authority; as the penalty of disobedience, the legate threatened not only excommunication and interdict, but also a boycott of trade between England and other countries. When the proctors landed

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 499-500; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 35-6; *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 257-73; Rymer, i, pp. 444-7.

at Dover, the citizens searched them, found the hated interdict and destroyed it. Fortunately the death of Urban IV suspended the legate's authority, and an urgent message summoned him to the conclave at Perugia, where he was elected pope and took the title of Clement IV.[1]

But Simon's worst foes were those of his own land. During the fighting of 1264, Llewelyn had proved but a lukewarm ally, though a body of Welsh archers came to the assistance of Simon and shot down many of the royal soldiers. So long as they lurked in the woods, they proved of great service; but the moment they showed themselves in the open, they were ridden down by the men-at-arms. Those who chanced to be taken prisoners received no mercy. On the other hand, the marcher lords were of great assistance to Henry at the siege of Northampton, and many of the prisoners were given into their charge. At Lewes, they fought under Prince Edward; a few were drowned or captured, but many escaped to their own lands. When they received a royal summons to come to London, they did not obey, but nevertheless released their prisoners.[2] Some of them attacked Wallingford Castle in the hope of releasing prince Edward, but its keeper threatened to hurl the prince to them as the bolt of a mangonel, so the latter persuaded them to retire.[3]

On reaching their own lands, the barons on the Welsh border continued refractory, and there was much confused fighting. When they threatened Chester, Robert Ferrers, earl of Derby, marched against them with such

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 234; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 501-2; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 38-9; *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 278; Rymer, i, pp. 447 8.

[2] Rymer, i, pp. 441-2.

[3] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 502-3; *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, p. 752.

a large army that they dared not face him; during their flight he pressed them closely and killed a hundred of their men with the loss of only one of his own. But he was a mere freebooter, though nominally on the barons' side, and presently his excesses had to be checked. When the marcher lords seized Gloucester and Bridgnorth, Simon called a general muster at Northampton to repress them, and Henry III led his force to Worcester, but found the bridges across the Severn broken down. As the marcher lords found themselves trapped between Simon on their front and Llewelyn in their rear, prudence counselled submission. They failed to appear at a parliament held at Oxford, but attended a conference at Worcester and accepted provisions by which they were to go into exile in Ireland for a year and a day, and were granted till the 15th January, 1265, to make their preparations. They were even permitted to have an interview with prince Edward at Kenilworth.[1]

In the midst of these alarms of war, Simon's mind was set on more important matters, and in December, 1264, the writs for the parliament of 1265 were sent out. When it met at Westminster on the 20th January, 1265, there were present 120 bishops, abbots, priors, and deans, so that the clergy were very fully represented; thirty-two barons, with two knights from every shire, and two citizens from every city and borough. The inclusion of the last made it more representative of all classes, but it was really a meeting of Simon's supporters rather than a true parliament. The barons summoned at first were only those of his own party, though later on some of the northern royalist barons received safe-conducts

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 235; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 502 4; *Owens College Essays*, pp. 107 8; *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 283; Rymer, i, pp. 445, 449 and 455; *Waverley*, p. 358.

to appear.[1] But feeling against Simon was beginning to grow and found a voice in this parliament.[2] One chronicler described him as ordering all things, having all the royal castles at his disposal, and leaving the king merely the shadow of royalty, as he led him about with him.[3] He was said to have seized eighteen baronies.[4] The ships of the Cinque Ports were committing acts of piracy, and there were complaints of interference with trade.[5] Prices were rising and many commodities were dear, but this was rather the result of the long-continued disturbances than a direct outcome of the baronial rule. The most loyal members of the baronial party carried their patriotism to such lengths that they were quite prepared to go without foreign goods, and went about in rough undyed home-spun rather than in the finished cloths brought from Flanders. But it was they of his own household who wrought most mischief to Simon's reputation. His son Henry received the nickname of the 'wool-merchant', because he laid violent hands on the wool that was being exported out of the country.[6]

During the sittings of this parliament an unfortunate quarrel broke out between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester; the latter asserted that the former had covenanted to share with him all ransoms and other gains resulting from the victory at Lewes, but was keeping

[1] Rymer, i, pp. 449–50.

[2] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 455–7, gives the impression that the earl named himself justiciar and acted as colleague to Hugh Despenser in that office. Pauli, p. 170, accepts this, and Prothero, p. 322 and note, follows his lead, though with some hesitation. Bémont, p. 229, note, considers this an error, and Vernon Harcourt, pp. 128 37, is most emphatic that Simon de Montfort was never justiciar.

[3] *Flores Historiarum*, ii, pp. 504 5; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 41.

[4] Pearson, ii, p. 259.

[5] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 273–4 and 281–2; *Wykes*, pp. 157–8.

[6] Prothero, pp. 317–18.

all for himself. He declared that his sons had treated him contemptuously in the height of their pride, and in consequence he challenged them to a tournament at Dunstable. On hearing of the latter, Simon forbade it, rebuked his sons sternly, and took with him a sufficiently strong force of Londoners to overawe the combatants and prevent the tournament. An attempt to hold it at Northampton was prevented in a similar manner. Gloucester further accused the earl of keeping the strongest castles in his own hands and placing in them garrisons of foreigners; he even alluded to him as 'the presumptuous foreigner'. The loyalty of Gloucester may be gauged from the fact that he had taken under his protection the marcher lords, who should have gone into exile long before this.[1] His sorest grievance was the retention of Bristol Castle, seized by fugitives from Lewes and taken from them by Simon de Montfort. The real trouble was the gradual changing of a triumvirate into a dictatorship.[2]

Simon de Montfort showed his impartiality when he seized the earl of Derby, impeached him before parliament and sent him to the Tower.[3] An attempt was then made to start the new government, but the royalists were pressing for the release of the king and prince Edward. To set them free would be the signal for a fresh outbreak of civil war. But to keep them in honourable confinement was impossible. The earl was impaled on the horns of a dilemma: he must either release them and face the consequences, or detain them

[1] *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*, p. 74; *Dunstable*, pp. 238 9; *Flores Historiarum*, iii, p. 1; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 42; Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 32; *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, p. 752; Rymer, i, p. 450; *Waverley*, p. 358; *Worcester*, p. 453.

[2] Ramsay, p. 235; *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, p. 751.

[3] *Waverley*, p. 358.

and plead guilty to inconsistency. The reformer had come before his due time; the thirteenth century was not ready for plans of reform that would have done credit to the nineteenth. On the 10th March prince Edward issued a proclamation by which he accepted the recent ordinance for the government of the country, the Great Charter and the Forest Charter, and agreed to abide by the terms for his release that should be arranged by his father, and to renounce all who attempted to disturb the peace of the realm. The same day Henry III sealed a receipt to the effect that his son and his nephew had been handed over to him by Henry de Montfort. The following day they were publicly delivered into the king's hands, and the terms of their release proclaimed. The constitution of 1264 was set out in Latin, but the oaths and other additions were in French. Prince Edward was to borrow five castles from his father and hand them over to the barons as security for his good behaviour. Prince Edward was to hand over to Simon de Montfort the castle and county of Chester, the castles of the Peak and Newcastle-under-Lyme, but was to receive in exchange lands of an equal value. Nine bishops, with candle in hand, excommunicated all who should break this peace.[1] But the whole proceeding was a sham. Prince Edward simply exchanged one prison for another, and his cousin Henry of Germany remained in custody as a hostage of his own free will. On the 17th March the king handed over to his son the five castles of Dover, Corfe, Nottingham, Scarborough, and Bamborough.[2] On the 5th April the earl of Gloucester was ordered to give up Bamborough, which had been in his keeping. Thus the whole arrangement was

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 280; Rymer, i, pp. 451–2; *Waverley*, pp. 358 61.
[2] Rymer, i, p. 454.

simply one for transferring castles into the hands of Simon de Montfort. Before the end of the parliament, Gloucester withdrew and retired to his own lands. In March Simon received the castles of Chester, Newcastle-under-Lyme, and the Peak, and in May gave up to prince Edward an equivalent from his estates in Leicestershire.[1] Through the agency of Henry of Germany, Simon was still seeking the kindly advice of the French king as mediator.[2]

When the parliament broke up, Simon went down to Odiham Castle, where the two princes were under guard,[3] and remained there till the end of the month. On the 2nd April he bade farewell to his wife, whom he never saw again, and went to Northampton with the king and the princes in order to prevent the tournament. There he heard that the earl of Gloucester had formed an alliance with Roger Mortimer, and realized that this boded mischief. At once he proceeded to Worcester and Gloucester, which were important on account of the bridges across the Severn, and then to Hereford. Here a proclamation was issued that the reports of a quarrel between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester were false. When news arrived that John de Warenne and William of Valence had landed near Pembroke, Henry at once issued orders to the sheriffs to prevent assistance reaching them from abroad and to maintain peace within their boundaries.[4] An agreement patched up between the two earls on the 12th May was a mere blind. John Giffard, a brave soldier and an adherent of Simon de Montfort, abandoned him because he was forbidden to

[1] Pauli, p. 168, and note; Rymer, i, p. 454.
[2] Rymer, i, pp. 453 and 455.
[3] *Household Expenses*, p. 13.
[4] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 282–4; Rymer, i, pp. 455–6.

take ransom for his prisoners, as this was contrary to the Mise of Lewes. He joined the earl of Gloucester, and the two tried to seize Simon or release Henry III on their way from Gloucester to Hereford, as they passed through the forest of Dean.[1] When this attempt failed, they followed the earl to Hereford and shut him in on three sides.[2] On the 22nd May Roger Clifford and Roger Leyburne were allowed to visit prince Edward in Hereford, and doubtless planned what followed. The prince was only a nominal prisoner and enjoyed the company of his close friend, Thomas de Clare, a younger brother of the earl of Gloucester; he had also among his associates Robert de Ros and his cousin Henry de Montfort. On 28th May the prince received a present of a spirited horse and asked permission to try it on a flat meadow outside the city walls. The little party rode out about the hour of vespers. Under the pretence of trying the mettle of their various mounts, the prince rode races against his escort till their steeds were tired out. Presently a horseman appeared on a neighbouring hill and waved his cap; prince Edward saw the signal, jumped on a fresh horse and dashed off at full speed, followed by Thomas de Clare and several squires. On escaping into the woods he met friends, and the whole band galloped through the gloom to Roger Mortimer's castle of Wigmore.[3]

The consequences of the prince's escape were serious. Within a few days the news became known; the tenants-

[1] *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, p. 756; *Waverley*, pp. 361–2.

[2] *Waverley*, p. 362.

[3] Blaauw, pp. 235–7; *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, pp. 756–7; Rymer, i, p. 455; *Melrose*, p. 198, says that the prince went out for a walk with some of Simon's family, and then escaped. *Oxenedes*, p. 227, ascribes the prince's escape to the carelessness or goodwill of his guards and makes him escape to the earl of Gloucester.

in-chief were summoned to bring their levies to Worcester; orders were issued to watch the marches and seize all the prince's supporters; the bishops were bidden to excommunicate all violators of the peace; the garrison of Bristol were ordered to hand over their castle to Simon de Montfort.[1] When the news reached the countess of Leicester on the 1st of June, she left Odiham Castle at once after dinner and travelled all night to Porchester under the guidance of the shepherd Dobbe. Her son, Simon the younger, was constable of Porchester Castle, and she stayed with him until the 12th June, when she journeyed to Bramber Castle, stopping on the way to dine at Chichester. She passed through Wilmington, Winchelsea, and Battle, and reached Dover on Monday, the 15th June. Her eldest son Henry was warden of the Cinque Ports and constable of Dover Castle; though he was absent, his mother was welcomed by his deputy. The countess lodged in the castle, but her attendants were quartered in the town. Here she was in a position of safety and could escape by sea, if that step should be rendered necessary. Apparently she made the journey in great haste, because horses and carts were borrowed along the road; the countess of Arundel lent a cart and five horses, the prior of Tichfield lent a lady's riding-horse, and the prior of Southwick lent one that was ridden by Hicke, the countess's tailor. When the whole retinue left Bramber together, eighty horses were needed. In addition, part of the baggage was sent on in carts to Winchelsea and taken on to Dover by boat. At Winchelsea the countess entertained the burgesses to dinner; two oxen and thirteen sheep were cooked for them, besides other food. Two days after her arrival at Dover she entertained the burgesses of Sandwich and gave

[1] Rymer, i, pp. 455–6.

them an abundance of fish. Two ambassadors from France were staying at Dover, so she sent them a present of wine and later on paid their passage-money back to France.[1]

In the meantime, the earl of Gloucester met prince Edward at Ludlow, where the latter agreed to observe the old laws of England and keep aliens out of office; then the former swore allegiance to him. The prince at once became the centre of a royalist movement, and a rallying-point for the moderate, the lukewarm, and the wavering. Quickly his partisans seized Chester, Shrewsbury, and Bridgnorth; then Worcester was surrendered into their hands without a struggle. After this the royalists burnt the bridge there, broke down the other bridges across the Severn, pulled the boats far on to dry land or sank them, and dug deep holes in the fords. So thoroughly was this work done that the baronial levies were ordered to meet at Gloucester instead of Worcester.[2] Simon sent reinforcements to Gloucester, which was immediately invested; the town fell in two days, but the castle held out for three weeks. Then the garrison were allowed to march out with weapons and horses, on condition of not fighting against prince Edward for forty days.[3] Simon de Montfort was now cut off by the Severn from the east of England. As no other resource remained, he sought the help of Llewelyn, who had remained quietly on the watch until the earl should be in such difficulties that he would be willing to pay a heavy price for his help. Perhaps the earl, too, had not been so keen on a close alliance with Llewelyn since he

[1] *Household Expenses*, pp. 39–50 and 65.

[2] Rymer, i, p. 456.

[3] *Flores Historiarum*, iii, p. 2; *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, pp. 758–9; *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 288; *Waverley*, pp. 362–3.

had received Chester from prince Edward. The Welsh prince demanded such a price for his aid that many of Simon's adherents were disgusted when he granted it. On the 19th June Llewelyn was at Pipton, near Hay, only twenty-five miles from Hereford, and announced his terms, which Henry III was obliged to accept at Hereford three days later. Llewelyn was to be recognized as prince of Wales and hold the over-lordship of the magnates of Wales; he was to receive Maud's Castle, the hundred of Ellesmere, and Hawarden Castle. He was also to become overlord of Whittington, though its heir was to hold the castle and lands under him. In return for all this, Llewelyn was to pay 30,000 marks. The English hostages delivered up as sureties for the due observance of this treaty were at once sent to the most distant parts of Wales. There was possibly mention of the marriage between Llewelyn and Eleanor, daughter of Simon de Montfort, but it was not carried out till prince Edward had become king.[1] One chronicler was aghast at the plundering, slaying, and burning that resulted from an alliance so contrary to the past course of English history.[2]

Simon now left Hereford and retreated to Monmouth, where he destroyed the castle, and Henry III sent out an appeal for help to the supporters of the baronal cause.[3] John Giffard forced him to retire to Usk, but Gloucester came up and started him on the run again. This time he went to Newport, in the hope of finding vessels from Bristol ready to convey him and his army across the Channel. But a small fleet sent out by the earl of

[1] *Owens College Essays*, pp. 114–15; *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 284–7; Rymer, i, p. 457.

[2] *Flores Historiarum*, iii, p. 258.

[3] Rymer, i, p. 457.

Gloucester crippled the Bristol fleet so badly that they sought refuge in the river Avon. After moving westward Montfort turned northwards towards the district occupied by Llewelyn; but, as he proceeded into the hilly country, prince Edward followed and regained the valleys with their castles. The earl's army began to loathe the goat's milk and flesh which were all the food they could procure; it sufficed for hardy Welshmen, but not for dainty Englishmen, who must have bread at any cost, and finally turned eastward in order to obtain it. They were exhausted by their long and tiring marches. Ultimately their Welsh allies led them through Pontypool and Abergavenny back to Hereford.[1]

While Simon the elder had thus been thoroughly unsuccessful, Simon the younger had been beating up recruits and might have saved the cause but for his incredible folly at the last. In spite of his father's difficulties, he wasted time in laying siege to Pevensey castle, because it was held for Peter of Savoy. Finally, he received an urgent message to take help to his father, after which he passed through Tonbridge on his way to London; at Tonbridge he received nine horses from his mother, four of which belonged to her clerk, cook, steward, and farrier.[2] His presence was needed in London to hearten the democratic party, who were being hard pressed by the citizens of royalist tendencies; the former found it necessary to imprison forty of the latter on charges of conspiracy.[3] From London Simon marched to Winchester, but the citizens not only refused to receive him, but also seized one of his messengers and put him to death before his

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, iii, pp. 3–4; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 43–4. *Wykes*, p. 168, says that the English wanted bread, and could not eat the poor food of the Welsh.

[2] *Household Expenses*, pp. 57–8.

[3] Ramsay, p. 242.

own eyes. Then he angrily besieged the city, spoiled it mercilessly, slew its Jewish inhabitants, and sacked the whole place.[1] After making a stay of three days at Oxford, he passed on through Northampton to Kenilworth, where he arrived on the 31st July. By his slow marching and his roundabout route, he had wasted precious days and given prince Edward the chance to attack father and son separately. It was the elder Simon's idea that they should unite, but this waste of time left no chance to form a plan of combined action. When Simon reached Kenilworth, it was already late in the day. There was no room within the castle walls for such a large force, so they lay scattered about the village and the priory. Even the leaders, who might have been accommodated within the castle, stayed in the village, either to sleep on soft beds or to refresh themselves by bathing. Simon ought to have been on his guard, because prince Edward had sent him a knightly warning to expect a visit from him. But when the prince heard through a spy of his cousin's arrival and the careless disposition of his men, he was too clever a soldier to throw away such a golden opportunity. He hastened from Worcester so as to reach Kenilworth in the dawn of the 1st August. Just before their arrival, his forces overpowered a party of foragers and seized their horses to replace a few of their tired steeds. The prince wished to capture the whole force alive. As they lay buried in sleep, they were roused with cries of: 'Up, up, ye traitors, and come out, or ye are all undone!' Some fled naked, some with their clothes under their arm, and some with a single garment hastily donned. Simon himself escaped, owing to his perfect knowledge of the locality, and got

[1] *Waverley*, p. 363; *Winchester*, p. 102. Hort suggests that want of money perhaps caused Simon to go to Winchester.

across the castle lake in a boat. But the greater number were taken prisoners. Among them were a few men of position, including the earl of Oxford. Owing to the large number of horses taken, the prince was able to turn his infantry into cavalry, and even the grooms appeared before him on knights' horses. The fate of the elder Simon was settled by this disaster, because the prince could now attack with overwhelming numbers, and the long-expected reinforcements would never reach his opponent.[1]

The earl of Leicester was obliged to leave Hereford, because supplies were running short and his men had stripped the surrounding country bare; so he advanced to the Severn and crossed it in boats on Sunday, the 2nd August, at Kempsey, a manor belonging to the patriotic bishop of Worcester, who was with the host. After resting for the night at Kempsey, they marched to Evesham, which they reached on the evening of Monday, the 3rd August. They followed the southern bend of the Avon and entered from the east. The earl had learnt of his son's march to Kenilworth, but not of his disaster, and meant to advance through Alcester and unite their forces. Evesham lies within a bend of the Avon, shaped roughly like a bull's head. The line of the river is defined on the south by low hills, but the opening on the north is blocked by steeper hills. The main street runs from south to north, and becomes on the north the road to Alcester, through which lay the earl's most direct route to Kenilworth, though he could also go through Stratford and Warwick. Two roads ran directly to Worcester on the west of the town, although

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, iii, p. 4; *Melrose*, pp. 198 9; *Oxenedes*, p. 228; Prothero, pp. 335-6; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 44; *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, pp. 761-2; *Waverley*, pp. 363-4; *Winchester*, p. 102.

prince Edward did not advance along either of them. Between the steeper hills on the north and the lower hills on the south lies a little bowl containing the town. To the extreme south lay St. Mary's abbey, with the town stretching to the north of it; above the town the ground rises steeply, and to-day it would be impossible to fight on it; but then it was open ground.[1] The earl and the king spent the night in the abbey, while their army lay encamped around.

Prince Edward had returned from Kenilworth to Worcester; here he heard of Simon's intention to march to Kenilworth, and resolved to cut him off from his home as he had just cut off the son from his father. As he feared the presence of spies in his camp, he tried to throw them off the scent by leaving Worcester during the evening of Monday, the 3rd August, by the northern road, as if he were bound for Bridgnorth or Shrewsbury; but as soon as he reached Claines, three miles to the north, he turned sharply to the east and dashed at full speed to Cleeve Prior.[1] Then he turned to the south-west and followed the Avon to Offenham, where he crossed it and then marched towards the west until he found himself at the top of Green Hill, commanding the junction of four roads and overlooking Evesham. He posted his own men in the open, but placed the earl of Gloucester slightly in the rear, so that his forces would not at first be seen from the town. When the main force crossed the Avon at Offenham, the prince bade Roger Mortimer continue to follow the east bank of the Avon until he reached Bengeworth, so as to block the eastern exit from the town, by which the earl had entered in the previous evening. The spider had skilfully spun his web, and the prey was in the toils. The speed with which the royalists

[1] Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 35.

had marched during the last four days contrasted sharply with the slowness of the younger Simon's movements.

On the morning of the 4th August the pious king and the earl attended mass in the abbey church, celebrated for them by the bishop of Worcester; then partook of breakfast and prepared to resume their march. Word was brought that troops were approaching from the north, and the earl exclaimed: 'It is my son, but go and look closely.' The earl's barber was gifted with keen sight and some knowledge of heraldry, so he mounted the great tower of the abbey, and his master soon followed him. As he caught sight of the banners of young Simon and his adherents, his first idea was that his son was actually there; but he was soon undeceived, for behind his son's banners he perceived the lions of prince Edward. So keen a soldier could not be deceived. He had no thought for the fair scene lying around him, the trim gardens and fine buildings of the abbey, the gardens and orchards of the townsfolk, and the river on the south or the hills on the north. The son of a soldier, and himself above all things a soldier, his thoughts were of the combat before him. As he watched the prince's forces wheel into position, he exclaimed: 'By the arm of Saint James, they come on well; but they learnt that order from me;' as he realized their numbers, he added: 'May God have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are theirs!' The imminent hour of death gave him an insight that might have saved him, had it come earlier, for he realized that the folly of his sons had brought him to this pass; he who was claiming to guide England into a better way of government had not known how to rule his own family. His friends tried to persuade him to fly, but he had not learnt to turn his back on his foes. To his son, who

offered to oppose the foe alone, he replied: 'Far from me be the thought of such a course, my dear son! I have grown old in wars, and my life hastens to an end; the noble parentage of my blood has always been notoriously eminent in this one point, never to fly, nor even wish to fly, from battle. Nay, my son, do you rather retire from this fearful contest, lest you perish in the flower of youth; you, with God's help, are now about to succeed to me and our illustrious race in the glories of war.'[1] He begged Hugh Despenser and Ralph Basset to fly, in order that they might continue the struggle in better days and under happier auspices. But they were inspired with his own spirit and refused to quit their leader. 'Come then,' said he, 'let us die like men.' The aged bishop of Worcester passed through the ranks and gave absolution to the kneeling soldiers, who again bore a white cross on their shoulders to distinguish them from the royalists, who were marked with red crosses. Taking with him the king, the earl pushed on up the hill; but the prince had the advantage of position, and all the earl could do was to reach a little plateau, which offered some footing for battle, but none for escape. There he drew up his men in solid circles and prepared to sell his life dearly. Prince Edward began the fight and Gloucester soon came up on his left, so that the earl was surrounded almost immediately. His Welsh infantry, spiritless and poorly armed, gave way at once, and, as they fell back through the town gardens towards the abbey, were cut down by Mortimer's men advancing in the rear of the fight. The few who managed to evade these troops swam the Avon and fled, but were destroyed as they wandered over the surrounding country.

[1] Blaauw, pp. 245-6.

Simon's horse fell beneath him; his eldest son was one of the first to fall. When the earl heard of his death, he cried: 'Is it indeed so? Then it is time for me to die.' He rushed upon the foe and wielded his sword with such fury that, had there been six more like himself, they would have gained the day. As it was, the foe wavered and had to be rallied. When summoned to surrender, the earl cried: 'I will never yield to dogs and perjurers, but to God alone.' A soldier crept behind him and thrust his spear under his coat of mail, so that he fell with the words: 'God have mercy!' The king was slightly wounded on the shoulder during the combat, and was at one time in such risk of being killed that he cried out: 'I am Henry of Winchester, your king.' The fight lasted for two hours and ended in sheer butchery. No war calls forth such evil passions as civil war. On the royalist side the losses were but slight. Of the earl's party there fell 160 knights and barons, including the earl, his eldest son, his cousin Peter de Montfort, Hugh Despenser, Ralph Basset, Thomas Astley, and William of Birmingham. Among the prisoners were the earl's son Guy, who lay among the heaps of dead and dying until he was picked up more dead than alive, Humphrey de Bohun, Henry Hastings, Nicholas Segrave, and the two sons of Peter de Montfort.[1]

Terrible portents accompanied the battle. It was fought during a violent storm of thunder and hail. These tempests raged all over the country, and in many places the monks in choir could not see to chant their offices. The common people looked upon them as signs of

[1] Blaauw, pp. 242-50; *Flores Historiarum*, iii, pp. 5-6; *Melrose*, pp. 200-1; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 45-7, and 67; Rishanger, *Chronica*, pp. 35-7; *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, pp. 762 5; *Waverley*, pp. 364-5; *Winchester*, p. 102.

heaven's sympathy with their grief at the loss of one whom they esteemed a national hero. After the battle, the royalists disgraced themselves by their treatment of Simon's body ; the head was cut off and stuck on a spear, the hands were hacked off and put in a bag, and both sent as a present to Matilda, the wife of Roger Mortimer, at Wigmore Castle. Other parts of the body were sent to various towns. The lady of Wigmore chanced to be at mass in the neighbouring abbey when the messenger arrived with his grisly present and whispered the joyful news of victory in the ears of his mistress. But at the central point of the service the hands were seen to be raised over the messenger's head, as if they were drawn by force of habit to pay that adoration which their living owner in his piety had so often paid in that holy service. The lady refused to receive them and sent them back to Evesham, where the monks were already burying the slain. Prince Edward gave orders that the body of his cousin Henry should be decently buried and himself attended the funeral. The monks also rescued the mangled remains of Simon's body, covered them reverently with a cloth, conveyed them to the abbey on a hurdle, and buried them before the high altar, along with the body of Hugh Despenser.[1] Their pious care was soon rewarded by the miracles that followed ; a list of over two hundred of these has been preserved. A clause in the 'Dictum de Kenilworth' begged the papal legate to lay an ecclesiastical censure on all who described Simon as a martyr, and to declare his miracles vain impostures.[2] Hymns were composed in his honour, and

[1] *Osney*, p. 177, says that the body was taken up and buried in a secret place, known only to a very few persons.

[2] Stubbs, *Charters*, pp. 420–1.

the Franciscans even compiled a service in commemoration of his merits.[1]

To the men of his own day Simon de Montfort was either a traitor or a saint; the royalist baron regarded him as disloyal to the king, but the common people looked upon him as a martyr worthy to be ranked with Thomas of Canterbury. In truth, he was happy in the hour of his death, because he was in an impossible position. Men die, but truth lives on. Simon sowed seed which has sprung up and increased a hundredfold. It seems almost an irony of fate that his conqueror was destined to continue his work and give permanence to the principles for which he strove. Edward the First was the political heir of Simon de Montfort. The latter was a great soldier and proved his bravery and skill on every field on which he fought. He was an ambitious man who raised himself from the position of a penniless younger son to that of a king's brother-in-law. But he was a deeply religious man whose life was based on his faith.[2] Though not a born Englishman, he was more patriotic than England's king or many of her barons, who sought their own profit instead of her good. Perhaps the most striking trait in the whole of his character was his unswerving fidelity. He never wavered in the cause which he had made his own, but upheld it even at the price of his life. From a tiny spring in the hills there bubbles out a slender stream of water, which finally becomes a mighty river that rolls past cities and towns and bears on its bosom many a noble argosy. The river of freedom to-day traces back its origin in large part to the work of Simon de Montfort. Wherever men to-day

[1] *Lanercost*, p. 77; *Melrose*, pp. 202-6 and 212; Rishanger, *Barons' Wars*, pp. 67-110.

[2] *Melrose*, pp. 207-11.

enjoy the benefits of limited monarchy, of constitutional government, of a share through representation in their own law-making body, let them never forget their debt to Simon de Montfort. As a man, he came as near perfection as frail human nature permits of; he was a devoted husband, a kind father, a firm friend, the very model of a mediaeval gentleman. As a statesman, he was before his time, but he marked out the paths in which later generations would tread.

> Here fell the loyal knight, the soldier brave;
> Let all the land lament around his grave!
> To free both church and state from civil strife,
> Like martyr Thomas he laid down his life.[1]

[1] *Political Songs*, pp. 125-7; *Waverley*, p. 365.

STEPNEY PUBLIC WHITECHAPEL LIBRARIES

CHAPTER XIV

THE DISINHERITED

HENRY III, once more king in reality as well as in name, proceeded to use his power. At Worcester, on the 7th August, he revoked all grants made in his name by Simon de Montfort and presently cancelled all pardons or remissions of debt granted by him. The citizens of Hereford were fined 560 marks for their support of the earl.[1] A little charity would soon have healed the wounds of war, but severity not only prevented their closing, but also opened them wider. The barons' party expected bread, but instead Henry offered them a stone. On Sunday, the 6th September, 1265, Simon the younger released his uncle the king of the Romans, his cousin Henry, and other prisoners, from their confinement at Kenilworth. In return, in a letter written at the priory of Kenilworth, Richard pledged himself to do all he could on behalf of his sister Eleanor and her family, so far as was consistent with loyalty to his brother the king and his nephew prince Edward.[2] About the same time, the widow of the justiciar released the prisoners in the Tower of London and handed it over to the king's officers; Windsor Castle was likewise surrendered, and the city of London made its submission to the king. When forty barons surrendered to the king at Windsor, they were at once cast into prison.[3] The abbots and

[1] Rymer, i, pp. 458 and 463.
[2] Blaauw, p. 295 and appendix.
[3] *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, p. 767.

priors who had favoured the baronial cause, offered the king a sum of money in order to secure their pardon; but the lands and property of their monasteries were none the less ravaged and plundered by the royalist barons.[1] Even a royalist chronicler confessed that the king and his adherents had learnt nothing from the events of the past months, but were, if anything, more unwise.[2] When a great council of royalist barons and bishops, together with the widows of the slain, met at Winchester on the 11th September,[3] Henry secured their assent to the confiscation of the lands of all his opponents, with the exception of the earl of Gloucester. The younger Simon de Montfort was present under a safe-conduct sealed by his cousins Edward and Henry, but soon withdrew to Kenilworth, because he did not like the appearance of things. After the council was over, Henry III issued orders that a return of all the lands of the rebels should be sent to him by the 13th October.[4] Out of these confiscated lands the king recompensed his second son Edmund for the loss of Sicily; the young prince received the earldoms of Derby and Leicester, together with the office of high steward, and the estates of Nicolas de Segrave.[5] Henry of Germany received the estates of William de Furnival, situated in the county of Nottingham.[5]

Presently Henry III moved from Winchester to Windsor, whence he sent orders to the citizens of London

[1] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 49.

[2] *Wykes*, quoted by Prothero, p. 348.

[3] *Waverley*, p. 366, says the 14th September; Winchester mentions the 11th September, and says that the parliament was held 'eodem tempore', without actually saying that it began on that day. Rishanger, *Chronica* and *Barons' War*, says the 8th September. Ramsay accepts the 11th September, Bémont, the 8th September.

[4] Rymer, i, p. 462.

[5] *Ibid.*, i, p. 465.

to submit themselves to his mercy. Forty of them at once proceeded to Windsor under the guidance of Roger Leyburne; on their arrival they were thrown into the Round Tower, but next day were given better quarters, with the exception of the mayor and four others. The property of three of these was granted to prince Edward.[1] The citizens were compelled to hand over the keys of the city, and to remove their posts and chains.[2] When Henry arrived in London in person, he turned sixty citizens out of their houses and confiscated all their goods. Finally, he accepted 20,000 marks as a complete atonement for all the citizens' past offences, but still kept the city in his own hands.

On the 30th October, 1265, queen Eleanor and her son Edmund landed at Dover, bringing with them the papal legate Ottobon, who brought with him a bundle of papal bulls against the baronial party.[3] Henry met them at Canterbury and escorted them to London, where the queen interceded on behalf of the citizens with such success that all but seven of the prisoners at Windsor were released within a month. At a synod held in the northern transept of Westminster Abbey in December, 1265, the legate suspended the four bishops who had supported the earl of Leicester. The pope had bidden him show them no mercy,[4] and in the following March, at a synod held at Northampton, the legate ordered them to go to Rome. Death saved the bishop of Worcester from obeying this command, but the others paid for their patriotism by a long exile.[5] In November, 1265, the men of the Cinque Ports burnt Portsmouth; then, fearing the vengeance of prince Edward, placed their families

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 293–4 and 305–6; Rymer, i, pp. 464.
[2] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 293–4.
[3] Rymer, i, pp. 458–61.
[4] Ramsay, p. 254.
[5] Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 47.

and possessions on board their vessels, and spent the winter in plundering on land and sea. But in March, 1266, prince Edward defeated the men of Winchelsea so thoroughly that many were drowned in their flight; he wished to hang their leader, but he was saved by the intercession of the earl of Gloucester on his behalf. Then the prince granted them a full pardon, and obtained a grant from his father giving him control over all merchants entering or leaving the realm, so that he might regulate the duties levied from them.[1] Had the prince's advice in the previous autumn been followed, the land would have been spared much disturbance.[2]

After the battle of Evesham, Simon the younger left a strong garrison at Kenilworth and hastened eastward with Baldwin Wake to secure a base for attack in the Isle of Axholm;[3] soon after, Henry III summoned a general muster of his adherents at Northampton, in order to reduce them.[4] Prince Edward conducted the siege of the island with such skill and vigour that Simon was persuaded to go to Northampton under a safe-conduct and submit to the arbitration of his uncle Richard, the legate, and P. Basset. He thanked his uncle for saving his life, and the king was prepared to be indulgent, but the earl of Gloucester prevented a reconciliation. Simon was willing to surrender Kenilworth in return for a pension of 500 marks, granted on condition he remained out of England. But the garrison refused to surrender the castle to any one but the countess, so the arrangement fell through and Simon was taken to London in the care of his cousin Edward. But he contrived to escape

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 302-3; Rymer, i. p. 468; *Waverley*, pp. 367 and 369; *Winchester*, p. 104.

[2] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 289-90.

[3] *Waverley*, p. 368.

[4] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 49; Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 41.

and fled to Winchelsea. After the submission of the Cinque Ports he escaped to France, where he was joined by his brother Guy, who had been imprisoned at Windsor and Dover, but bribed his keeper to let him escape.[1]

In spite of prince Edward's success the Disinherited barons kept the country in a turmoil. The pope was so alarmed by the reports which he received, that he feared for the lives of the king and queen, and dreaded the loss of the noble fief of the church of Rome.[2] Henry III was said to have granted the earldom of Norfolk to the count of St. Pol, but the latter dared not go and take possession of it.[3] In the spring of 1266 prince Edward was obliged to take an army and drive the barons from Lincoln.[4] The earl of Derby had been released, but did not receive back his lands, so he joined in a rebellion with John d'Eyville and Baldwin Wake. Henry of Germany and John Baliol caught them near Chesterfield, defeated them with severe loss, and sent the earl a prisoner to Windsor, though his allies escaped.[5] Adam Gurdon had apparently held Dunster for Simon de Montfort and driven away a band of Welsh under William de Berkeley, who landed at Minehead;[6] now with eighty knights he seized Farnham castle and plundered the neighbouring counties, until he was surprised by prince Edward, beaten by him in single combat, and then pardoned.[7]

[1] Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 47.

[2] Milman, vi, p. 380, note.

[3] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 49-50; Rymer, i, p. 467.

[4] *Waverley*, p. 370.

[5] *Dunstable*, p. 241; *Flores Historiarum*, iii, p. 10; *Waverley*, p. 370.

[6] Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 41.

[7] According to *Dunstable* (p. 241) this must have taken place at Halton in Buckinghamshire; but other writers place it at Alton in Hampshire. (Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 48; *Flores Historiarum*, iii, p. 10; *Waverley*, p. 370.)

Towards the end of 1265 Henry III had twice issued orders for a general muster for the reduction of Kenilworth,[1] but nothing came of them ; in 1266 he was stung to action when the defenders of the castle sent back one of the royal messengers with his hand cut off. In March, 1266, he sent orders to the sheriffs to order the military tenants of the crown to assemble at Oxford by the 18th April.[2] On another occasion the men of Kenilworth showed themselves capable of better feelings. A royalist of noble birth was wounded, taken prisoner, and carried into the castle, where he died from his wounds. His body was placed on a bier, carried without the walls, and left with candles burning round it, in order that his friends on the king's side might remove it and bury it according to his wishes.[3] While the king's army was mustering at Oxford, some of the royal barons refused to appear, because they had already done their service and were being summoned too often ; others urged the adoption of conciliatory methods, especially the sending of an envoy to try and persuade the garrison of Kenilworth to surrender. The archbishop of Edessa, an Englishman by birth, happened to be staying in England and was chosen for this task as a prudent and eloquent man. When he arrived near Kenilworth, he was so alarmed by the reports of the severity of its keepers that he did not venture to enter, but sought hospitality at the priory. There a messenger brought him a solemn warning to do nothing to their hurt, because the garrison feared that he had come to excommunicate them.[4] On his return the king advanced to Warwick to join his son Edmund, who was trying to check the raids made by the

[1] Rymer, i, p. 467.
[2] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 300-2.
[3] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, p. 56.
[4] *Ibid*, pp. 54–5.

garrison of Kenilworth. On the 24th June a regular siege was begun. But the garrison had had such a long time to prepare that the castle was almost impregnable, and crowds of refugees had swollen the numbers of its defenders; the chief weakness was the presence of so many women and children within the walls.[1] A wooden tower was built by prince Edward to overlook the walls, and mangonels rained stones on either side; boats were brought from Chester to try and cross the lake; all the woodwork and roofing were destroyed, but the walls held firm. The gates were never closed, but the royal forces could not enter; perpetual sallies kept them at a safe distance. On the failure of temporal weapons, the aid of spiritual thunderbolts was called in. The legate Ottobon and archbishop Boniface summoned the garrison to accept their mediation, and on their refusal solemnly excommunicated them along with all their supporters. They treated this as a joke. Their chaplain-surgeon was a bold and clever man, so he dressed himself up as a legate, stood on the castle walls in his cope, and excommunicated the king, the legate, and all the royal army.[2]

The king summoned a parliament to meet at Kenilworth on the 24th August, 1266, for the purpose of granting him money, but those who came told the king that the land had need of peace.[3] Three bishops and three barons were appointed, who were to choose six others to act with them, and the whole twelve were to deliberate under the guidance of the legate and Henry of Germany. The fruit of their labours was the Dictum of Kenilworth, finally ratified and published in October.

[1] Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 51–2.
[2] *Robert of Gloucester*, ii, p. 772; *Waverley*, p. 371.
[3] *Waverley*, p. 371.

The opening clauses asserted the supremacy of the king and restored all rights taken away from him by the barons, but the remainder contained a basis for peace. The Disinherited were to receive back their estates on payment of a fine equivalent to the yearly rental for periods varying from one to five years, according to the extent of their connexion with the barons. Henry of Hastings and the earl of Derby were to pay for seven years. The family of Simon de Montfort was absolutely excluded from this arrangement.[1] The garrison of Kenilworth agreed to surrender at the end of forty days, if not relieved; but Louis IX took steps to ensure that no reinforcements should reach them from France, though at the same time he bade Henry III make peace with his sister and her family.[2] As no help came and they were beginning to be in want, the garrison accepted the terms on the 8th November and marched out of the castle with the honours of war on the 20th December.

But the fighting was not yet over. In August the remnants of various baronial forces united to seize the Isle of Ely, where they constructed a fortified camp in the midst of the marshes, closed the entrances to it, and proceeded to emulate the skill and bravery of Hereward. From their stronghold they ventured to make sallies with increasing boldness, sacked Norwich, and defeated a fleet which sailed up the Ouse from Lynn against them. So long as Kenilworth held out, the royal forces were too busy to attend to them. Many troubles combined to thwart the king's efforts and to embolden the malcontents. A quarrel broke out at Kenilworth between Roger Mortimer and the earl of Gloucester: the former

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, iii, pp. 11-12; *Select Charters*, pp. 419-25; *Waverley*, p. 372.

[2] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 304-5.

was the head of a party which opposed all concessions to the Disinherited for fear of losing their own share of the confiscated lands; the latter stood forward as the champion of the national party and demanded reasonable terms for the Disinherited. Henry III summoned a council to meet at Osney for the Christmas feast, in order to make peace between the two earls, but nothing came of it. When the king summoned Gloucester to Westminster for the festival of Edward the Confessor on the 5th January, 1267, he refused to come on account of the favour shown to foreigners; there was in fact general indignation because, at the feast which followed the acts of devotion, the legate was placed in the royal seat and served before the king. Gloucester was likewise absent from the parliament held at Bury St. Edmunds in February. Here fresh difficulties arose. Henry demanded a grant from the clergy towards the expense of reducing the Isle of Ely, and they refused to pay anything beyond the tenths already granted; they declared that their duty was to maintain peace and not to foment war; they also knew that the money might find its way to Rome to further the pope's schemes. The legate sent messengers to invite the refugees in Ely to return to their obedience to the Church and to the king's peace: in reply they asserted that they still held the faith of the universal church, as held by the great English saints, and owed allegiance to the church of Rome as the head of christendom, but were not bound to yield to its greedy demands for money; they were quite ready to make peace with the king, if he would observe the Provisions of Oxford and restore their lands. Finding his efforts of no avail, the legate excommunicated them and then fled to London by night, for fear the Disinherited should try to seize him. Henry too retired to keep Lent at Cambridge,

but left his men and boats to continue the blockade of Ely; however, the refugees soon destroyed the vessels.

Prince Edward was absent in the north, where he captured Alnwick and prevented John de Vescy from forming a fresh centre of baronial opposition. While he was absent, the earl of Gloucester suddenly appeared in London; the citizens hesitated to admit him, but he showed them a royal permission to enter. More probably the legate persuaded them to grant him admission.[1] Help soon reached him from Ely, and he proceeded to prepare London for a siege. Gloucester announced that his sole object was to secure better terms for the Disinherited. Prince Edward hastened back from the north, joined his father at Cambridge and proceeded with him to Windsor, where they gathered their forces. They marched to Stratford-le-Bow and blockaded the east side of London. It was a case of stalemate. Gloucester was not strong enough to defeat Henry, and the king was unable to surround London, even after hiring mercenaries by selling the jewels stored at Westminster in readiness for a new shrine for the Confessor.[2] Hugh of Lusignan and John of Brittany sent promises instead of help, although Henry had done so much for them in former days.[3] The king of the Romans and his son, Henry of Germany, offered themselves as mediators. Gloucester was granted a full pardon, but had to give surety in the sum of 20,000 marks for his future good conduct; the Londoners were also held blameless for what had happened.[4] This peace settled the fate of Ely. Several of its energetic leaders had come to London and were included in the peace, while prince

[1] Pauli, p. 197, note.
[2] Rymer, i, p. 472.
[3] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 317-19.
[4] Rymer, i, p. 472.

Edward was now free to devote the whole of his energy to its subjection. A hot summer lowered the level of the water in the fens, so that a causeway was easily constructed across the marshes, and the men of the neighbourhood aided the prince with their local knowledge. When all his preparations were concluded and the reduction of the Isle was only a question of time, prince Edward issued a proclamation, threatening death to all who persisted in their resistance, but also offering pardon and freedom to those who surrendered. The offer was accepted, and the prince marched into Ely amid the acclamations of the inhabitants. The defenders were allowed to redeem their lands according to the Dictum of Kenilworth.[1]

At last the land had peace. A fine summer, an abundant harvest, and the renewal of foreign trade, especially that in wine, aided in relieving the privations and anxieties of the past years. Llewelyn of Wales had naturally taken advantage of the king's embarrassments during the past years, to ravage the border and regain all that had been taken from him. Peace with him was concluded at Shrewsbury in September, 1267, on very generous terms.[2] Two months later the Statutes of Marlborough renewed the Provisions of Westminster and were a happy augury for future years, when the work begun by the barons in 1215 and 1258 and by Simon de Montfort in 1265, was completed by the Model Parliament of 1295 and the Confirmation of the Charters in 1297.[3]

It still remains to trace out the series of misfortunes by which the family of Simon de Montfort died out.

[1] Cotton, pp. 141–2; *Dunstable*, pp. 244–6; *Flores Historiarum*, iii, pp. 13–16; M. Paris, iii, pp. 360–70; Rishanger, *Barons' War*, pp. 62–5; Rishanger, *Chronica*, pp. 50–7; *Waverley*, pp. 373–4; *Winchester*, p. 105.

[2] Rymer, i, p. 473.

[3] Stubbs, ii, chapter 14.

When the earl of Leicester fell at Evesham, his wife was at Dover Castle with her son Amaury; she had fourteen royalist prisoners in her charge. On hearing of her husband's death she was smitten with inconsolable grief and at once reassumed the widow's weeds of her early years.[1] On several occasions she made offerings for masses for the repose of the earl's soul. On the 12th August her son Richard arrived from Winchelsea with a vessel and about a hundred sailors. A few days later she received a message from prince Edward, probably a summons to surrender. As she paid off her engineer on the 29th August, she must have realized the impossibility of holding out indefinitely. It also became necessary to forage in order to procure sufficient oxen and sheep for the household.[2] Henry III was specially bitter against his sister and wrote to the bailiffs of Dover to prevent her crossing into France.[3] Nevertheless, she succeeded in sending her two sons to Gravelines with 11,000 marks, and Henry wrote at once to Louis IX to urge him to seize it.[4] After she had sent away her sons, she tried to send away her furniture and personal possessions, and hired French ships to convey them across the Channel, but they were captured by pirates and plundered. The royalist prisoners in Dover Castle overpowered their warders and seized the keep, but were besieged by the countess's men in the bailey; the former held out until prince Edward arrived by a swift march, when the latter were caught between two fires and forced to surrender. Prince Edward was wiser than his father and granted reasonable terms. The countess and

[1] Prothero, p. 350, note.
[2] Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 147.
[3] *Royal Letters*, ii, p. 292.
[4] Bémont, p. 244, note; *Household Expenses*, pp. 74 and 88.

her two sons were to abjure the realm, but twenty-two men of her household were freely pardoned.[1] Then she departed with her daughter Eleanor to France,[2] where she persuaded king Louis to intercede for her. As a result of his mediation her brother ordered steps to be taken to consider what allowance she ought to receive from her dower lands. She was also permitted to have any personal effects that had been left behind in England. Through the efforts of queen Eleanor on her behalf she was finally granted a pension of £500 from her lands. She settled at Montargis, at a convent founded by her husband's sister Amicia. In 1267 she persuaded the king of France to try to secure some provision for her eldest surviving son Simon; the grant of her pension was confirmed, and Henry III agreed that Simon should receive the yearly value of his father's lands, but he must sell them to the king on the latter's request, renounce all connexion with the king's enemies, and never enter England again, except by permission. During the same year the countess also claimed a share in Angoulême as the possession of her mother Isabella. Henry III had renounced all claim to it in favour of his mother's second family, not only for himself, but also for his brother and sisters.[3] Possibly their consent had been taken for granted. The parliament of Paris ordered the present earl to pay her both a yearly allowance and a sum in lieu of arrears. When Edward I was returning from Palestine through France, Philip III persuaded him to confirm the grant made by his father to his aunt, and king Edward also advanced part of what was unpaid and ordered certain debts still due to her late husband to be

[1] *Royal Letters*, ii, pp. 294–6.
[2] *Dunstable*, p. 259; M. Paris, iii, p. 356; Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 87.
[3] Champollion-Figeac, pp. 62–4.

collected and paid to her.[1] The date of her death is uncertain, but it probably took place in 1274 or 1275.[2]

When Simon and Guy escaped from England to France, they remained for some time with their mother. Then Guy went to Italy and entered the service of Charles of Anjou, who was busily occupied in securing his kingdom of Sicily. He won the favour of Charles, prince of Salerno, eldest son of the king of Sicily, and that prince tried to intercede for him with Henry III, but in vain.[3] Having inherited his father's energy and warlike skill, Guy rose high and won the hand of Margaret, heiress of count Aldobrandino Rosso.[4] Simon ventured to pay a secret visit to Evesham in order to see the tombs of his father and brother,[5] and returned to the Continent in an embittered frame of mind. He went to join his brother Guy in Italy, and both were in Viterbo in March, 1271. Since the death of Clement IV in that town on the 29th November, 1268, the cardinals had been sitting there in conclave, but had been unable to make choice of a new pope. In September, 1271, they elected Theobald Visconti, archdeacon of Liège, who took the title of Gregory X. On the 9th March of that year Philip III of France and his uncle Charles of Sicily arrived at Viterbo from Rome, accompanied by Henry of Germany, who had travelled as far as Palermo with his cousin prince Edward on the latter's journey to Palestine. When Edward set sail for the Holy Land, Henry started on his way to Gascony, of which he had

[1] *Dunstable*, pp. 258-9; Green, *Princesses*, ii, p. 456.

[2] Bémont says 1275, Prothero 1274, Green (*Princesses*) seems to favour the former year.

[3] Bémont, p. 252.

[4] Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 48.

[5] Cotton, p. 146. Bémont, p. 251, note, says that this is an error, but gives no reasons.

been appointed governor during his cousin's absence on crusade.[1] The object of the journey to Viterbo was probably undertaken in the hope of persuading the cardinals to end the long interregnum in the papacy.[2] The account of the murder, published by the pope in 1273, stated that prince Henry had come on purpose to try and bring about a reconciliation between his cousins and the king of England. But they cherished the bitterest feelings against him and held him responsible for the mutilation of their father's body after Evesham. On the 13th March prince Henry was present at mass in one of the churches of Viterbo and was kneeling before the altar, engaged in his private devotions, while the kings of France and Sicily were at another church. Taking advantage of their absence, the de Montforts rushed into the church with the intention of dragging their cousin outside. But the crowd of his attendants was in the way, so they fell upon him with the cry: 'Thou traitor Henry of Germany, thou shalt not escape.' As he clung to the altar, they stabbed him repeatedly and nearly severed the four fingers of his left hand. Thinking him dead they hurried out to the troop which they had left without to secure their retreat. One of their companions asked what they had done, and Guy answered: 'I have had my revenge!' The other exclaimed: 'How was your father dragged about?' Stung to frenzy Guy rushed back, seized his victim by the hair and dragged him out of church, in spite of his clasped hands and his entreaties for mercy. Raining blows on him Guy cried: 'You had no mercy on my father or my brother.' The

[1] Prothero, p. 366. In Gregory's proclamation (Rymer, i, p. 501) he says that Henry was returning from Tunis; in that case he must have taken part in the crusade of Louis IX.

[2] Pauli, p. 209.

assassins fled at once to the castle of count Rosso, father-in-law of Guy.[1] The body of prince Henry was conveyed to England and buried at Hayles in the county of Gloucester, while the heart was placed in a golden vessel near the shrine of St. Edward in Westminster Abbey.[2] The horror felt at the deed was shown later on by Dante in the *Inferno*:

> Then further on a space
> The Centaur paused, near some, who at the throat
> Were extant from the wave; and showing us
> A spirit by itself apart retired,
> Exclaimed: 'He in God's bosom smote the heart,
> Which yet is honour'd on the bank of Thames.'[3]

On the very day Charles of Sicily wrote an account of this terrible murder and sent it to prince Edward,[4] while Philip of France wrote to the king of the Romans, but neither took any active steps to punish the murderers. Simon de Montfort died in the same year (1271) at a castle near Sienna, but Guy lived long enough to atone bitterly for his awful crime. On his return from Palestine in 1273, Edward I arrived on the 14th February at Orvieto, where pope Gregory X was then residing, and demanded the punishment of the guilty survivor. On the 1st March the pope summoned Guy de Montfort to appear before him within a fortnight, and this summons was posted on the doors of the cathedral of Orvieto. The accused sent all manner of excuses, but did not appear, so he was condemned in the most solemn manner possible. 'Let him forfeit the esteem of men, let him never

[1] Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 67.

[2] *Flores Historiarum*, iii, pp. 21–2; *Winchester*, p. 110.

[3] Canto xii, lines 115–20. A note on p. 203 of Dante's *Inferno*, Cary's translation, Methuen, gives evidence which proves that this was not the only dishonourable action committed by Guy.

[4] Rymer, i, p. 488.

make a will nor benefit by the will of another! Let the foul deed disgrace his children to the fourth generation! Let him be excommunicated!' Like Cain, Guy was thus cut off from the society of his fellow man[1] (1st April, 1273). In the following June Gregory X set out to preside over a general council at Lyons. On his way he passed through Florence, where Guy de Montfort and his wife tried to win his pardon by the humblest prayers; when the pope departed from Florence, Guy followed him for more than two miles in his shirt, with bare feet and a cord round his neck. Prostrating himself to the ground and shedding floods of tears, he threw himself on the pope's mercy and asked to be flung into prison anywhere, if only he might win absolution and pardon. He was committed to close confinement within the borders of the papal territory, under the care of Charles of Sicily.[2] After some time he succeeded in escaping from prison and probably returned to the service of the king of Sicily; when his son Charles of Salerno tried to bring about a reconciliation between Guy and Edward I, the latter replied in no very generous mood.[3] On hearing a report that Guy had visited Norway in 1280, Edward I complained because he had not been arrested and handed over to him.[4] Pope Martin IV pardoned him, because he needed his services against the town of Urbino, and Guy quickly repaid him by regaining much of the papal territory that had been lost. On the death of his father-in-law the pope permitted him to return and secure the inheritance of his wife and daughters.[5] Finally, Guy returned once more to the service of Charles of Sicily,

[1] *Dunstable*, p. 259; *Flores Historiarum*, iii, pp. 29–30; Rishanger, *Chronica*, pp. 78–9; Rymer, i, pp. 499–502.

[2] Rymer, i, p. 507.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, p. 568.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, p. 577.

[5] Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 105.

and was taking help to the garrison of Catania when he was defeated at sea and taken prisoner by the famous Aragonese admiral, Roger de Laurea. The other captives were admitted to ransom, but Guy alone was kept in prison till his death in 1288, doubtless through the interference of Edward I.[1]

The younger brother, Amaury de Montfort, was suspected of a share in the murder at Viterbo, but was able to prove that he was ill of a fever at Padua and lying at death's door on the very day when it was committed.[2] He had been ordained in 1268 and studied at Padua for four years; he was also appointed chamberlain to the pope. Possibly he was a student of medicine, because in 1272 he returned three books on that subject to the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino, by the hands of his clerk, Peter of Stow.[3] In 1273 he departed from France for Wales with his sister Eleanor, who had been betrothed to prince Llewelyn many years previously; unfortunately their vessel was captured near Sully in Glamorgan and taken to Bristol.[4] Eleanor was taken to court and, after staying there for several years, was married to Llewelyn on the 13th October, 1278.[5] She died in 1282, leaving a daughter Gwenciliana or Gwenllian, who became a nun at Sempringham and died there. Amaury was shut up first in Corfe Castle and then in Sherborne Castle, and three popes in succession begged

[1] Blaauw, p. 310, note ; *Dunstable*, p. 340.

[2] Bémont, pp. 365–7.

[3] Bémont, p. 367.

[4] Cotton, p. 153 ; *Flores Historiarum*, iii, p. 73 ; *Winchester*, p. 121 ; Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 87, says that the vessel was captured near Cornwall.

[5] Cotton, p. 162 ; *Dunstable*, p. 276 ; *Flores Historiarum*, iii, pp. 51–2 ; Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 92 ; *Waverley*, pp. 388–9. On p. 386 *Waverley* says that Llewelyn had previously offered Edward I a large sum of money for Eleanor's release.

in vain for his release. Edward I was not convinced of his freedom from complicity in the murder of his cousin Henry, was annoyed at his intimate relations with Llewelyn, always an object of suspicion to the king of England, and was especially angry because he had tried to persuade the pope to withdraw the sentence of excommunication against his father, Simon de Montfort, because the latter had shown signs of penitence at the time of his death.[1] Finally, in 1281,[2] Edward I yielded to the prayers of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury,[3] and to a promise made by the pope that Amaury should leave England for ever. Before a council, held at the Temple in London, the bishop of Worcester reported that he had visited the prisoner and made careful inquiries of his gaolers, and all swore that he had never uttered a harmful word or made a threat against the king.[4] In consequence of his report Amaury was released. But within two years he again stirred up the anger of his royal cousin, because he caused the king's brother Edmund, now earl of Leicester and Lancaster, to be summoned to the court of Rome; Edward I declared that there was no appeal outside England in cases concerning fiefs, dowry, or money.[5] In consequence of a sharp letter from the king Amaury dropped the matter. On leaving England he went to France, whence he presently returned to Italy, where he exchanged the priest's robe for the knight's armour.[6] He acted as guardian to the daughters of his brother Guy until his death in 1292. Thus the end of the thirteenth century saw the extinction of the family of Simon de Montfort in the male line.

[1] Bémont, p. 257.

[2] *Dunstable*, p. 289, says 1282.

[3] *Dunstable*, p. 276, says that previous attempts to secure the release of Amaury had been made by the pope and by archbishop Kilwardby in 1277.

[4] Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 99.

[5] Rymer, i, p. 651.

[6] *Flores Historiarum*, iii, p. 67.

CHAPTER XV

THE HOUSEHOLD ROLL OF THE COUNTESS OF LEICESTER

MANY interesting details, concerning the life and manners of this period, can be gleaned from a household roll kept by the countess of Leicester during part of the year 1265; it also furnishes some indications of the cost of living and the rate of wages. Its date is easily determined. The historical incidents can only belong to the year 1265; the payment of wages is stated in some cases to be in the forty-ninth year of the reign: the octave of St. John Baptist's Day fell on a Wednesday, which agrees with the calendar of that year.[1] Apparently the countess Eleanor took this roll with her when she escaped from Dover to France, and it was evidently preserved at Montargis. In 1831 it was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum. The entries commence on the 19th February, but a reference to the 'aforesaid' shows that part of it has been lost; the household expenses are reckoned to the 29th August, though some personal expenses are given to a later date. When the clerk had filled a skin with the daily items of the household expenditure, he entered on the back details of miscellaneous or personal expenses, extending over the period covered on the face. When earl Simon arrived at Odiham Castle on Friday the 20th of March, the entries were made on his roll, and those in this began again on the day of departure, the 2nd April. At the beginning of the roll

[1] Fry, *Almanacks*, Table 15.

the countess was at Wallingford, but she soon left it and proceeded through Reading to Odiham, where she remained until Monday the 1st June, when she commenced her journey to Dover. She arrived there on Monday the 15th June, and remained until the 29th August.

It will be a rough guide for comparison of the prices with those of modern days, to reckon that money would purchase fifteen times as much in the reign of Henry III as in the years before 1914.[1]

The roll shows that there was a continual coming and going of visitors. On Tuesday, the 17th March, the countess's eldest son Henry arrived with his cousins prince Edward and Henry of Germany. The other sons, Simon, Guy, Amaury, and Richard, arrived and departed on various dates. Among the visitors were the countesses of Albemarle, Gloucester, and Oxford; it cost 5*s*. to drive the countess of Gloucester from Chippenham to Odiham. The remaining visitors were either hostages held by the barons and supporters of their party or ecclesiastics. The abbot of Waverley came twice. The prioress and nuns of Wintney in Hampshire and the prioress of Amesbury were congenial visitors to so devout a person as the countess. The nuns of Wintney received 10*s*. for making a cope for the countess's chaplain, given to him as an Easter present. The chaplain of Kemsing in Kent and John, rector of Catherington in Hampshire, visited Odiham. Among the supporters of the baronial cause who visited the castle was Thomas Astley, the Warwickshire knight who fell at Evesham. A present of wine was sent to the chancellor when he was staying at Salisbury; this was Thomas de Cantilupe, who held that office under the barons from the 25th February to

[1] Blaauw, *Barons' War*, p. 284; Ramsay, *Dawn of the Constitution*, p. 301.

the 10th August; he afterwards became bishop of Hereford and after his death was canonized. His shrine may still be seen in Hereford cathedral.[1]

Among the items of personal expenditure, there is continual mention of the purchase of boots and shoes for various people. For example, shoes for Petronilla, the laundry-maid, cost 1*s*. A cap of black muslin for the countess cost 14*s*., while fourteen long hairpins cost 2½*d*. The festival of Whitsuntide appears to have been the season for donning new clothes. Twelve ells of scarlet cloth were bought for the robes of the king of the Romans, in readiness for that festival; the countess and her daughter Eleanor bought cloth of the same colour, probably of a brighter hue; prince Edmund, the younger son of the king of the Romans, was content with less gay colours and was provided with striped cloth from Paris for his summer suit. Three hoods were bought at the same time, of which two were given to the king and his son, and the third remained in the countess's wardrobe. An ounce of silk thread cost 2*s*., and three ounces of coloured thread, 1*s*. When the 'demoiselle' Eleanor was ill, it cost 8*d*. to send a boy and a horse to fetch a barber from Reading to bleed her, and his fee and expenses amounted to 2*s*. 8*d*. Sixpence was paid for taking the young lady's letters to her cousin prince Edward. Before Easter, her nurse was paid 4*s*., and during Easter week received a present of 1*s*. Brother G. Boyun bought twenty dozen sheets of vellum in London at a cost of 10*s*., in order to make a pocket breviary for the young lady; later on, 14*s*. was paid for the writing, which had been done at Oxford under the superintendence of the same friar. A silk belt for Amaury cost 3*s*. Half a squirrel fur cost 3*s*. 4*d*., while six sheep-skins for the

[1] Wall, *Shrines of British Saints*, pp. 140–5.

under garments of the countess cost only 21*d.* Among smaller purchases were a feather and needles. A curious item consists of the expenses of the household tailor, when he went to London with clothes to be shorn ; these had been made from cloth with a long nap, and when the garments showed signs of wear, this was cut even and old clothes furbished to look like new.

A coffer covered with embossed leather was made to hold the silver cups belonging to the countess; it cost 2*s.* 1*d.*, and was strengthened with iron bands for 1*s.* 6*d.* Eight silver pennies were employed in mending four spoons. A phial for the countess's room cost 1*d.*, and baths cost 2*d.* Baths at Odiham on another date cost 3*d.* A gilt plate bought at London for the young lady cost 2*s.* 10*d.*, and twenty-five little stars to ornament her cap were a penny each. A golden clasp which she presented to the son of John de Hay, a strong supporter of the baronial party, cost 15*s.* There is frequent mention of lights, and 2*d.* was paid for locks for the box in which the candle-maker kept her candles. The carriage of rushes to cover the floors of the hall and of the countess's apartments cost 2*d.* There was also a cat to keep down the mice. Cases were bought for the countess's knives, and two cauldrons for Amaury. Washing forms a very small item, perhaps because it was chiefly done at home ; from the 25th December to the 31st May it cost 1*s.* 3*d.*, but rose to 1*s.* 4*d.* for a few days of the journey from Porchester to Dover. There were regular payments for plates, dishes and cups, and occasional ones for table-linen. A horse for Amaury cost 30*s.*, while the purchase of a new cart bound with iron and the mending of an old one took 33*s.* The rent of a field at Kenilworth for the countess's hens was entered as 13*s.* 4*d.*

The cost of food was more constant. The chief daily

items were flour, wine and beer, meat, and fish. The bread was probably made from a mixture of wheat and rye, though occasionally a finer quality described as bolted or crushed was employed, doubtless for the little cakes and the cheese tarts. A box of ginger-bread cost 2*s.* 4*d.*, and four pounds of the same dainty on another occasion were 12*s.* As the meal from which the bread was made was given to the dogs of prince Henry of Germany and those of the young de Montforts, it is a fair inference that the household were not given worse and therefore ate the same bread as their masters. The wine was chiefly red or white, though at Dover in August the general drink was bastard, a sweet wine. Wine from Gascony is also mentioned towards the end of the roll. Huge quantities of beer were drunk every day; the greater part of this was brewed at home from malt of barley, oats or wheat, though small quantities were occasionally bought. A woman brewer from Banbury received 5*s.* for wages and 1*s.* 6*d.* for her journey home, when she was dismissed. The largest quantity entered under a single day is 252 gallons. As hops were not used, the beer must have been drunk at once and rendered palatable by means of the spices put into it. When bought, beer cost from ½*d.* to 1*d.* a gallon. Milk is mentioned fairly often. Nine gallons were consumed in one week; in another ten, in addition to what was bought for 2*d.* Water is often entered, but the money set down was probably paid for carrying it from the nearest well; at Dover, it cost 13*d.* to carry water from the town to the castle for a fortnight.

The cooking was done with charcoal or logs; there are payments for the carting and cutting of the latter. Fat was a constant item for basting. The principal varieties of meat were beef, mutton, pork, and veal. There is also

mention of kids. Large quantities of fowl and geese were eaten. On the 14th June, at Winchelsea, thirty-five geese cost 19*s.* 10*d.*, while on the following day four dozen fowl cost 5*s.* 9*d.* Sheep were once brought from Eversley. The expense of hunting a stag with the dogs was 6*d.* Towards the end of the countess's stay at Dover, it became necessary to go out hunting and even to forage for animals for food. Cinnamon, fennel, parsley, verjuice and vinegar were used in the cooking. Large numbers of eggs were used, of which 1,600 cost 6*s.* 8*d.*; on one occasion, 150 were brought as rent in kind. Butter and cheese are mentioned. There were not many kinds of vegetables used then; they are sometimes mentioned collectively, but beans, peas, and onions, are named.

As the household fasted during Lent and on Wednesdays and Fridays, huge quantities of fish were eaten. These were chiefly salted herrings, of which several hundreds were frequently consumed in a single day; on one occasion, the number was a thousand. But many other varieties of fish were eaten. It cost 15*s.* 1*d.* to cart from Bristol to Wallingford 108 cod and ling, 32 congers, 500 hake; of these half were left at the latter place, and the other half taken to Odiham. A dogfish was left at Wallingford with the exception of two small pieces; a barrel of sturgeon was also sent there for the king of the Romans. Among other fish eaten were bass, bream, crayfish, dace, dory, eels, lampreys, mackerel, mullet, sole, stockfish, and whale, as well as crabs, oysters, shrimps, and whelks. Fish brought from Staines cost 10*s.* Probably the earl himself could only eat fresh-water fish, because, during his stay at Odiham, a man was paid 6*s.* 3*d.* for fishing at Farnham for eleven days.

Fruit is not often mentioned. Some apples cost 4½*d.*,

and 300 pears were bought at Canterbury for 10*d.*, while Colin Marshal received 3*d.* for fetching them. A present of raisins was sent to the king of the Romans. Figs are also mentioned. Spices of various kinds are constantly mentioned, including cinnamon, cloves, cumin, dates, galingale (a kind of sedge with an aromatic root), ginger, liquorice, mace, mustard, pepper, rice, saffron, salt, and sugar. Twelve pounds of almonds lasted for eleven days. Mention is made of 'white dust', which was probably powdered sugar.

The stable expenses were heavy at a time when horses afforded the only means of conveyance. The average number at Odiham Castle did not often rise above fifty, but was occasionally increased by the horses of visitors. On the 19th March there were 334 horses, including those of princes Edward and Henry of Germany and of the earl himself. Hay and oats appear daily, with frequent mention of shoes, nails, and the cost of the smithy. 8*d.* was paid for mowing grass, and 15*d.* for a pair of pincers. Among the personal expenses are included many pieces of harness. Cartage was a considerable item in the daily expenses. It cost 33*s.* to fetch six casks of wine from Southampton to Odiham, and 5*s.* 8*d.* to fetch two from Portsmouth. 7*s.* was spent in fetching a cask of wine with a parcel of wax and almonds from Porchester to Odiham. It cost 2*s.* to take a package of dates and spices to Kenilworth for the king of the Romans. It cost 3*d.* to fetch laurel oil from London, and 10½*d.* to fetch 200 figs from Wallingford. When there was no post, messages had to be sent by hand, and there are numerous entries for messengers, as when the countess sent letters to her husband at Gloucester and Hereford. The names of the messengers are suggestive, among them being Slingaway and Treubodi. Most of

the servants had Saxon names, such as Hicque the tailor, Gobithesti, Diqon, Hande, Wileqin (valet to Richard de Montfort), Dobbe, and Garbag.

The countess was generous and her offerings in chapel are frequently mentioned. From the 8th to the 15th June she gave 4*s.* 6*d.* The poor were frequently fed. On the 14th April there were 800, who received three quarters of bread and a cask of cider; a few days later, the servants and the poor consumed three-quarters of an ox. Wax was bought for the chapel candles.

Some indication is afforded of the rate of wages. An ordinary serving-man received 1½*d.* a day; among these were two who looked after the foals and the greyhounds of the countess. A master huntsman received 2*d.* a day. When Simon the fisherman left Odiham and went to Kenilworth, he received 5*s.* for half a year's wages. When the bakehouse boy was dismissed, he received 7*s.* for two years' wages, and was apparently discontented; but after Roger de Lyons gave him another 3*s.*, he went away satisfied.

A perusal of this roll leaves the impression of a strong-minded woman, who ruled well her family and household; of trusty servants, who delivered their messages faithfully even under circumstances of peril, loyally escorted their mistress to Dover and remained with her in days of adversity; of a household nourished with an abundance of the ordinary food of the day. 'A virtuous woman is a crown to her husband, and a wise woman ordereth her house well.'

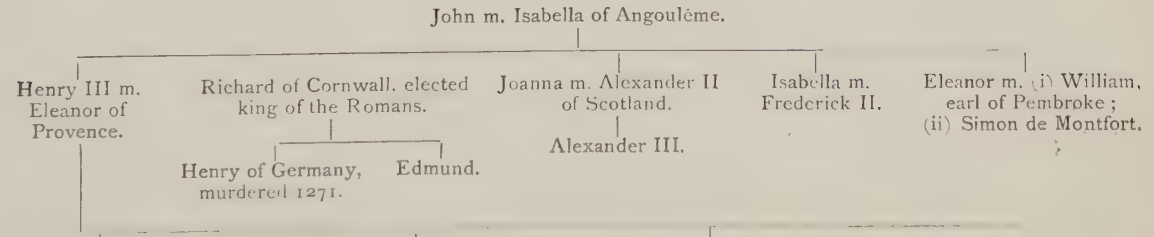
STEPNEY PUBLIC WHITECHAPEL LIBRARIES

STERNEY PUBLIC LIBRARIES WHITECHAPEL

APPENDICES

A. GENEALOGICAL TABLES

I


John m. Isabella of Angoulême.
Henry III m. Eleanor of Provence.
Richard of Cornwall, elected king of the Romans.
Joanna m. Alexander II of Scotland.
Isabella m. Frederick II.
Eleanor m. (i) William, earl of Pembroke; (ii) Simon de Montfort.
Henry of Germany, murdered 1271.
Edmund.
Alexander III.
Edward I m. Eleanor of Castile.
Margaret m. Alexander III of Scotland.
Beatrice m. John of Brittany.
Edmund Crouchback, titular king of Sicily.

II

Hugh of Lusignan, Count of la Marche, m. Isabella of Angouleme.

- Hugh, Count of la Marche.
- Guy, Count of Angouleme.
- Aymer, Bishop of Winchester.
- William of Valence, earl of Pembroke.
- Margaret m. Raymond of Toulouse.
- Alice m. John de Warenne, earl of Surrey.
- Isabella.

III

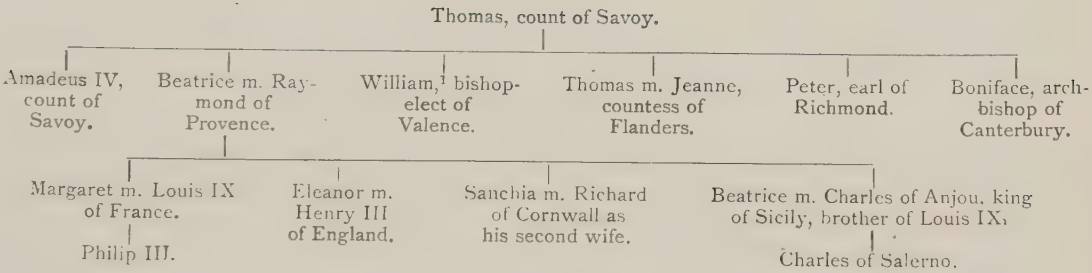
Simon de Montfort m. Alice of Montmorency.

- Amaury, count of Montfort.
- Guy, m. Petronilla, countess of Bigorre.
- Robert.
- Simon m. Eleanor, daughter of John.
  - Henry, killed at Evesham.
  - Simon, d. 1271.
  - Guy, m. Margaret, daughter of count Aldobrandino Rosso, d. 1288.
  - Amaury, d. 1292
  - Richard,[1] fate unknown after 1265.
  - Eleanor m. Llewelyn of Wales, died 1282.
    - Gwenciliana, a nun, d. 1337.

[1] Bemont, p. 82 (note , and Hutton, *Simon de Montfort and his Cause*, p. 185, call him Robert, but the Household Roll calls him Richard, pp. 67–8, 74.

STEPNEY PUBLIC LIBRARIES WHITECHAPEL

IV


Thomas, count of Savoy.
Amadeus IV, count of Savoy.
Beatrice m. Raymond of Provence.
William,[1] bishop-elect of Valence.
Thomas m. Jeanne, countess of Flanders.
Peter, earl of Richmond.
Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury.
Margaret m. Louis IX of France.
Philip III.
Eleanor m. Henry III of England.
Sanchia m. Richard of Cornwall as his second wife.
Beatrice m. Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, brother of Louis IX.
Charles of Salerno.

[1] To be distinguished from his namesake in Table II.

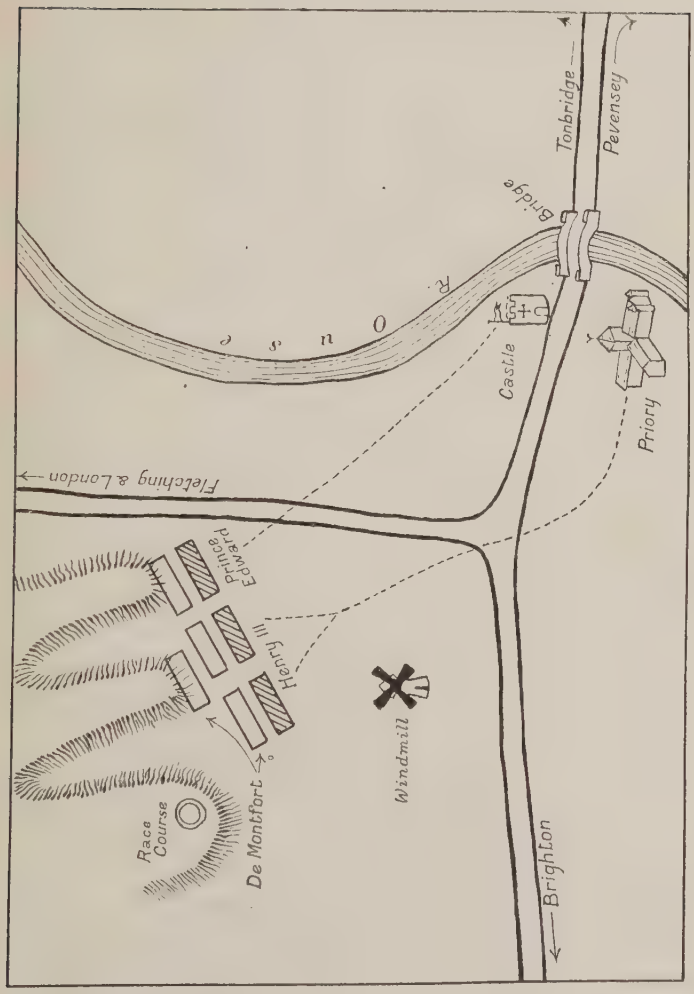
V

THE POPES OF THE PERIOD.

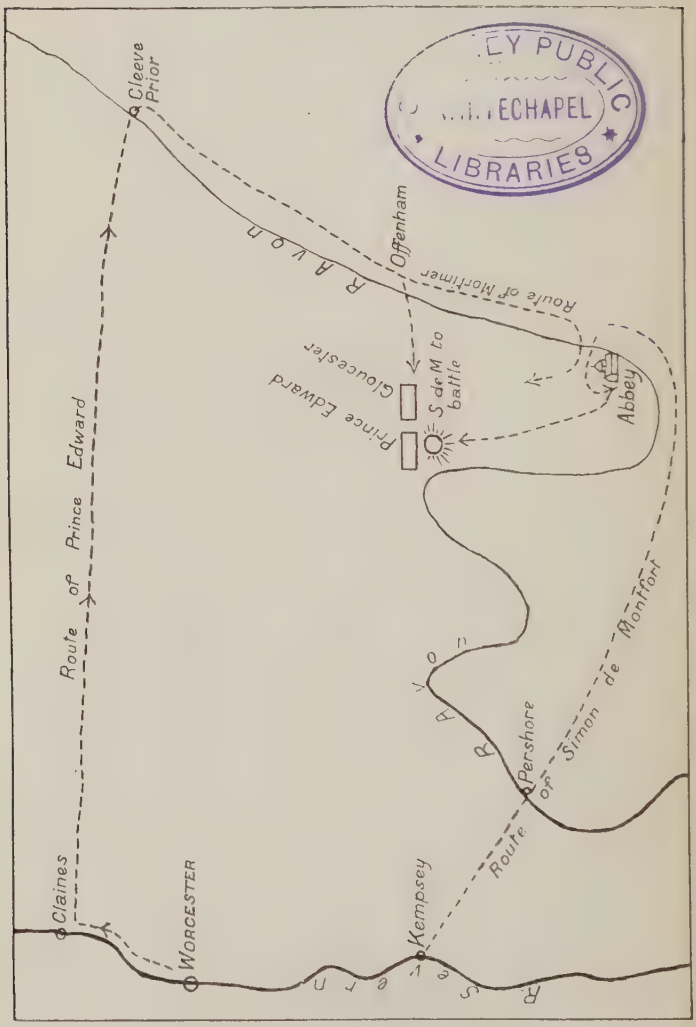
Innocent III	1198–1216
Honorius III	1216–1227
Gregory IX	1227–1241
Celestine IV	1241 (died before consecration)
Innocent IV	1243–1254
Alexander IV	1254–1261
Urban IV	1261–1264
Clement IV	1264–1268 (then an interregnum)
Gregory X	1271–1276

B. PLANS

I. THE BATTLE OF LEWES



II. THE BATTLE OF EVESHAM



...EY PUBLIC ...ECHAPEL LIBRARIES

INDEX

Abingdon, 20, 57–8.
Aigueblanche, Peter of, bishop of Hereford, 117, 130–2, 208.
Albemarle, William, earl of, 29, 49.
Albert, a papal envoy, 128.
Alexander II, king of Scotland, 146–7.
— III, king of Scotland, 91, 146, 162.
— IV, pope, 130, 134, 201.
Alfonso X, king of Castile, 98, 102, 202.
Alphonse, count of Poitou, 68, 84, 185.
Amiens, 25, 226.
—, Mise of, 215, 217.
Audley, James of, 140, 192, 205.
Aymer, half-brother of Henry III, 121, 171–3.

Bacon, Roger, 16, 90.
Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, 17, 204–5.
Balsham, Hugh de, bishop of Ely, 126.
Basset, Philip, 184, 187, 218, 256.
Béarn, countess of, 73.
Bedford, 30–1, 112, 137.
Berkstead, Stephen, bishop of Chichester, 163, 222, 231.
Bigod, Hugh, 174, 187, 192, 195–6, 227.
—, Roger, earl of Norfolk, 136, 167, 174, 184, 225.
Bisset, Margaret, 24, 58.
Blanche, Queen-dowager of France, 24, 39, 44, 51, 68–9, 97, 99.
Bohun, Humphrey, 215, 249.
Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, 118–19, 125, 144, 155, 166, 187, 192–3, 217, 228, 259.
Boulogne, 96, 99, 102, 172, 212, 232.
Braybrook, Henry de, 31.
Bréauté, Fawkes de, 30–1, 122.
Brittany, count of, 51, 60, 72, 187.
—, John of, 187, 192, 262.
Bruce, Robert, 216.
Burgh, Hubert de, 29, 34–6, 50–1, 106, 113, 117.
—, John de, 224.
Button, William, bishop of Bath, 98.

Cambridge, 21, 261–2.
Canterbury, 25–6, 38, 118, 124, 178, 201, 219, 255.
Cantilupe, Walter, bishop of Worcester, 144, 160, 173, 187, 197, 210, 216, 222–3, 245, 247–8, 255.
Catesby, 226.
Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, 202, 214, 266, 268–9.
Chester, Ranulph, earl of, 35, 45–6, 51.
Chesterfield, 257.
Cinque Ports, 55, 72, 195, 198, 216, 221, 229, 231, 234, 240, 255, 257.
Clare, Gilbert de, earl of Gloucester, 204, 222, 224–5, 231, 235–9, 241–2, 248, 256, 260–2.
—, Richard de, earl of Gloucester, 55, 94, 140, 172, 174, 180–1, 190, 196–8, 204.
—, Thomas de, 239.
Clement IV, pope, 233, 266.
Clifford, Roger, 239.
Conrad, son of Frederick II, 65, 127–9.
Crown of Thorns, 17.

Damietta, 29, 33, 128.
David, prince of Wales, 138, 147.
Despenser, Hugh, 193, 225, 248–50.
Devizes, 28, 36.
Dominicans, 17, 19, 66, 125, 217.
Dover, 20, 29, 64, 96, 102, 118,

124, 172, 189, 195–6, 201, 207–8, 210, 213, 217, 228–9, 232, 237, 240, 255, 257, 264.
Drogo de Barentin, 89, 93.

Edmund, son of Henry III, 129–30, 133–4, 194, 208, 254, 255, 258, 271.
Edward, elder son of Henry III, birth and baptism, 59; receives grant of Gascony, 85; Gascon deputies request that he may be sent to Gascony, 93; marries Eleanor of Castile, 102; appoints Geoffrey de Langley his agent in Wales, 138; has to fight the Welsh, 139; takes oath to grant the demands of the barons, 167; receives the remonstrance of the knights, 181; is reconciled to his father, 190; is aided by the monastery of Peterborough, 191; holds tournaments in France and returns to Gascony, 192; expedition to Wales, 206–7; seizes the money stored in the Temple, 209; goes to Bristol, 210; visits Gloucester, 216; haughty reply to the barons before Lewes, 223; holds royalist right wing at Lewes, 225; his mistake in the battle, 226–7; accepts a truce, 227; is taken to Dover Castle, 228; imprisoned at Wallingford, 233; exchanges castles with Simon de Montfort, 237–8; escapes from Hereford, 239; makes an agreement with Gloucester at Ludlow, 241; seizes the line of the Severn and captures Gloucester, 241; successful march to Kenilworth, 244; march from Worcester to Evesham, 246; wins the battle, 248–9; defeats the men of Winchelsea, 256; defeats Adam Gurdon, 257; at siege of Kenilworth, 259; at London, 262; reduces Ely, 263; sails to the Holy Land, 266.
Edward the Confessor, 67, 268.
Egremont, William de, 83.
Eleanor, daughter of King John, countess of Leicester, her birth, 49; married to William Marshal, 50; receives a dowry, 50; sails to Brittany, 51; death of her husband, 52; retires to Intebergh, 53; receives an allowance, 53; is granted Odiham, 53; married to Simon de Montfort, 54; her vow not to remarry, 56; birth of her eldest son, 57; accompanies her husband to France, 60; visit to Waverley, 75; correspondence with Adam Marsh, 85–6; birth of her daughter, 135; at court, 135; lends money to Henry III, 135; unwilling to resign her French claims, 182; claims more for her dower lands, 184; journey from Odiham to Dover, 240; escapes to France, 265; settles at Montargis, 265; receives an allowance, 265; her death, 266.
Eleanor of Provence, queen of England, presents an image of the Virgin to Westminster Abbey, 27; is married to Henry III, 38; sails to Bordeaux, 102; is insulted by the Londoners, 210; seeks help in France, 231; collects an army in Flanders, 231; lands at Dover, 255.
Ely, 126, 260–3.
Evesham, 245–50, 266.

Ferrers, Robert, earl of Derby, 212, 233, 236, 257.
Fitz-Athulf, Constantine, 30, 35.
Fitz-Warine, Fulk, 124.
Fletching, 222, 224.
Fontevrault, 102.
Franciscans, 20, 21, 66, 125, 155, 222.
Frederick II, emperor, 15, 23–4, 32–3, 43, 56, 60, 65–6, 127.
Fronsac, viscount of, 83–4, 88.

Gaillard, dean of St. Severin, 84.
Gaston de Béarn, 80, 83–4, 88–9, 92–3, 100–1.
Geoffrey de Langley, 138.
Gerald, archbishop of Bordeaux, 93, 95.
Giffard, John, 219, 225, 238, 242.

Gloucester, 28, 206, 208, 216, 234, 238–9, 241.
Grant, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, 34.
Gray, Walter, archbishop of York, 72, 91.
Gregory IX, pope, 15, 32–3, 56–7.
— X, pope, 266–9.
Griffith, a Welsh prince, 138.
Grosseteste, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, his opinion of papal power, 15; warns the dowager-countess of Winchester against the Jews, 47; early life, 61; promotion, 61; his knowledge, 61; denunciation of papal exactions, 61–2; friendship with de Montfort, 62; has charge of his sons, 76; prophecy as to the fate of de Montfort, 78; opposes a grant to Henry III, 155; abolishes the Feast of Fools in Lincoln Cathedral, 160; strictness of his visitation, 160.
Gruffydd de Bromfield, 205.
Guy of Lusignan, 90, 120, 156, 173, 227.

Henry de Wengham, bishop of London, 92, 126, 174.
— Hastings, 222, 225, 249.
— of Germany, nephew of Henry III, 64, 170, 173, 192, 209–10, 211, 228, 232, 237–8, 254, 257, 259, 262, 266–8, 273.
— of Sandwich, bishop of London, 222.
—, son of Frederick II, 128.
— III, king of England, gifts to his sister on her marriage, 23; lays foundation stone at Westminster, 26; gift to St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, 27; crowned at Gloucester, 28; takes Bedford Castle, 31; makes peace with Llewelyn, 32; declares himself of age, 32; dismisses Hubert de Burgh, 35; is reconciled to him at Gloucester, 36; is defeated at Grosmont, 37; marries Eleanor of Provence, 38; seizes English lands of Anglo-French barons, 45; grant to de Montfort, 46; expedition to Brittany, 51; angry with Hubert de Burgh, 51; wastes time at Nantes, 51; grieved at the death of William Marshal, 52; marriage of his sister Eleanor, 54; sends money and troops to Frederick II, 56; presents to Eleanor de Montfort, 58; escape from death at Woodstock, 58; anger against de Montfort, 59; reconciled to him, 63; orders a collection for his brother's crusade, 65; new shrine for the relics of Edward the Confessor, 67; expedition to Poitou, 68–73; its failure and his retreat to Bordeaux, 71; wastes time and money in Gascony, 72–3; grants Gascony to Prince Edward, 85; marriage of his daughter Margaret, 91; inquiry into Montfort's methods in Gascony, 93–5; favours Gascon deputies, 95; goes to Gascony, 99–100; receives money from England, 101; returns home through France, 102; anger against Peter des Rivaux, 113; trial of Hampshire thieves, 115–16; affection for the queen's uncles, 117–18; favours his mother's second family, 120–1; anger against the papal legate Martin, 124; takes the cross, 126; accepts Sicily for Prince Edmund, 129; seizes corn sent by his brother, 137; expedition to Wales, 139; sells plate and sneers at Londoners, 153–4; sets up a fair at Westminster, 154; visits to French churches, 156; protest of Roger Bigod against the Poitevins, 167; accepts the committee of twenty-four, 167; fear of de Montfort, 176–7; agrees to Peace of Paris, 185; absolved from oath to observe Provisions of Oxford, 189, 202; seizes London, 190; receives money from Louis IX, 193; exacts oath of allegiance from Londoners, 193; seizes Dover Castle, 196; visits France,

but is taken ill, 200–1; at Amiens, 215; settles at Oxford, 217; visit to shrine of St. Frideswide, 218; march through Kent and Sussex to Lewes, 221; battle of Lewes, 225–8; accepts Mise of Lewes, 228; taken to London, 229; harsh measures against barons, 253; parliament at Winchester, 254; at Windsor, 255; besieges Kenilworth, 258; accepts Dictum de Kenilworth, 259; makes terms with Gloucester, 262.
Hereford, 206, 238–9, 242–3, 253, 274.
—, earl of, 94, 174, 184, 205.
Hervey de Borham, 225.
Honorius III, pope, 28, 32, 122.
Hubert's Folly, 32.
Hugh de la Marche, 49, 68, 120.

Innocent III, pope, 14, 41, 43.
— IV, pope, 62, 122, 127–8, 130.
Intebergh, 53.
Isabella, sister of Henry III, 23–4, 66.
Isleworth, 219.

James, king of Aragon, 22.
Jeanne, countess of Flanders, 45.
Jersey, 51.
Jerusalem, 22, 34, 65.
Joanna, sister of King John, 40.
John Fitz-John, 222.
—, king of England, 14, 28, 39, 49, 104–5, 111, 116, 138.
— of Crakehall, 174.
— of Gatesden, 55.
— of St. Giles, 172.
— of Warenne, earl of Surrey, 173, 221, 227.

Kempsey, 245.
Kenilworth, 56–7, 60, 74, 135, 170, 213, 215, 219, 226, 234, 244–6, 253–4, 256, 258–60.
Kennington, 142.
Kerry, 32.
Kingston, 198, 220.

Lambeth, 29, 111, 119.
Langton, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, 25, 34.
La Réole, 84, 89, 92, 97, 100.
Lateran Council, 29, 43, 115.
Lecomte, Vidal, 84.
Leicester, 47, 63, 219.
Lestrange, John, 205.
Lewes, 221–9.
—, Mise of, 228.
—, Song of, 163–6.
Leyburne, Roger, 239, 255.
Lincoln, 28, 257.
Llewelyn the Great, prince of Wales, 29, 31–2, 37, 50, 138.
—, prince of Wales, 139, 191, 205–7, 233–4, 241–3, 263, 270.
Lomagne, count of, 82.
London, 15, 30, 35–6, 38, 57–8, 64–5, 69, 73, 82, 103, 115, 119, 125, 131–2, 137, 152–5, 176, 178, 190, 193, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 216, 219, 221, 229, 243, 253, 255, 262.
Longsword, Roger, bishop of Lichfield, 210.
Lorris, 81.
Louis VIII, king of France, 28, 30, 39, 43–4, 54, 67.
— IX, king of France, protests against deposition of Frederick II, 15; acquires the Crown of Thorns, 17; brings it to Paris, 17; takes the cross, 18; is supported by the French people, 44; compels Anglo-French nobles to choose between England and France, 45; bestows Poitou on his brother Alphonse, 67–8; campaign in Poitou, 69–71; obliged by illness to retire, 72; sails on crusade, 79; shuts churches in Paris, 157; refuses to go to Cambrai, 176; receives homage from Henry III, 185; unable to settle English disputes, 203; issues the Mise of Amiens, 215.
Lovell, Philip, 174.
Ludgershall, 50.
Luke, archbishop of Dublin, 35.
Lyons, 61, 84, 125, 127, 148, 269.

Malmesbury, 28.
Manfred, 127, 129–31, 134.
Mansel, John, 56, 80, 98, 133, 163, 173–5, 190, 193, 209, 214.

Margaret, daughter of Henry III, 91, 135, 146, 162.
—, queen of France, 199.
Marlborough, 50, 263.
Marseilles, 64.
Marsh, Adam, 75–7, 83, 85–6, 99, 157, 163.
Marshal, John, 30.
—, Richard, earl of Pembroke, 37, 52–3, 55, 112–13.
—, William (I), earl of Pembroke, 28–9, 49.
—, William (II), earl of Pembroke, 31, 37, 49–52.
Martin, a papal legate, 123–4.
Mauléon, 81.
Merton, 35, 142, 166.
Montargis, 265, 272.
Montauban, 97.
Montfort l'Amauri, 39.
—, Amaury de, brother of Simon V, knighted by the bishop of Orleans, 43; resigns lands in southern France, 43; goes on crusade, 43; taken prisoner, 44; dies on way home, 44; yields English claims to Simon, 46.
—, Amaury de, son of Simon V, escapes to France, 264; at Padua, 270; escorts his sister to England, 270; a prisoner, 270; released, 271.
—, Eleanor de, daughter of Simon V, goes to France, 265; comes to England, 270; marries Llewelyn, 270.
—, Guy de, brother of Simon V, 82.
—, Guy de, son of Simon V, commands right wing at Lewes, 225; wounded at Evesham, 249; escapes to France, 266; enters service of Charles of Sicily, 266; murders his cousin Henry of Germany, 267; punishment, 269; release, 269; defeat and death, 270.
—, Henry de, son of Simon V, knighted by Prince Edward, 192; retires from Gloucester, 216; at Lewes, 225; escorts his cousins to Dover Castle, 228; governor of Dover Castle, 229; seizes exports of wool, 235; arranges tournaments at Dunstable and Northampton, 236; slain at Evesham, 249.
—, Peter de, cousin of Simon V, 174, 205–6, 215, 249.
—, Richard de, son of Simon V, comes from Winchelsea to Dover, 264; escapes to France, 264.
—, Simon de, IV, father of Simon V, joint-heir to earldom of Leicester, 40; forfeits it, 40; crusade against Albigenses, 40; at Fifth Crusade, 41; leaves it at Zara, 41; accepts fiefs in southern France, 42; slain at Toulouse, 43.
—, Simon de, son of Simon V, knighted by Prince Edward, 192; besieges Pevensey Castle, 243; marches to London, 243; attacks Winchester, 243–4; marches to Kenilworth, 244; surprised by Prince Edward, 244–5; at Winchester, 254; retires to Kenilworth, 254; defends Axholm, 256; visits Northampton, 256; escapes to France, 257; visits Evesham, 266; goes to Italy, 266; at murder of Henry of Germany, 267; death, 268.
Simon de Montfort V, earl of Leicester, shield of arms in Westminster Abbey, 26; at marriage-feast of Henry III, 38; plans thwarted by Queen Blanche, 45; pays his brother Amaury for the English estates, 46; receives a pension from Henry III, 46; does homage, 46; expels Jews, 47; causes imprisonment of Richard Siward, 47; attends the legate Otho to St. Paul's, 47; witnesses deeds, 48; marries Eleanor, 54; anger caused by the marriage, 55; retires to Kenilworth, 56; visits emperor and pope, 56–7; marriage confirmed by the pope, 57; returns to Kenilworth, 57; earl of Leicester, 59; godfather to Prince Edward, 59; reproached by Henry III, 59; retires to France,

60; consoled by Grosseteste, 62; preparations for crusade, 63; journey, 64; citizens of Jerusalem wish him for governor, 65; bravery in Poitou, 71; stays in Gascony, 73; reads Grosseteste's essay, 76; friendship with Grosseteste, 76–8; takes the cross, 79; governor of Gascony, 79; reduces it to order, 81–2; protects Bigorre, 82; returns to England, 83; involved in factions at Bordeaux, 83; receives grants to build forts, 85; goes to Paris to renew truce, 86; peace at Bordeaux, 87; seeks help from Henry III, 88; repels the Pastoureaux, 90; offers to surrender Gascony, 91; objects to inquiry, 91; quarrel with Henry III in parliament, 94–5; returns to Gascony, 96; invited to become high constable of France, 99; quarrel with William de Valence, 140; represents the earls, 144; investigates behaviour of sheriff of Northampton, 161–2; a member of the twenty-four, 174; doubtful about Provisions of Oxford, 175; goes to Cambrai, 176; ambassador to France, 180; quarrel with Gloucester, 180; visits St. Albans, 188; refutes accusations of Henry III, 190; summons a meeting of knights, 197; leaves England, 199; receives men and arms from abroad, 207; holds meeting of supporters at Oxford, 207; expedition against foreigners in England, 208; holds a parliament at London, 211; rescued at Southwark, 213; disgust with barons, 214; papal rebuke, 214; breaks leg at Catesby, 215; sends out three expeditions, 216; goes to Brackley, 217; returns to London, 218; attacks Rochester, 220; negotiations with Henry III, 221–3; battle of Lewes, 225–7; clever generalship, 227; marches to London, 229; army on Barham Down, 231; writs for parliament of 1265, 234; quarrel with young earl of Gloucester, 235–6; marches to Severn and Wales, 238; treaty with Llewelyn, 242; march to Evesham, 245; falls in the battle, 249; ill-treatment of his body, 250; reputed miracles, 250; character, 251–2.

Montgomery, 32.

— Ford, 192, 205.

Mortimer, Roger, 191–2, 205, 212, 216, 239, 246, 248, 250, 262.

Munchensi, Warine de, 72.

Nantes, 51.

Naples, 24, 130.

Navarre, king of, 82.

Neath, 191.

Neville, Ralph, bishop of Chichester, 142.

—, Robert, 216.

Newcastle, 147.

Newgate, 155.

Nicolas de Molis, 80, 89, 93, 95, 98.

Northampton, 123, 137, 213, 218–19, 229, 236, 238, 244, 255–6.

Nottingham, 140, 219–20, 237.

Odiham, 53, 59, 77, 135, 170 238, 240, 272–3.

Orleans, 90.

Osney, 58, 261.

Otho, a papal legate, 47, 55, 57–8, 122.

Ottobon, a papal legate, 255, 259.

Oxford, 21, 24, 57–8, 108, 121, 168, 177, 207, 217–18, 234, 244, 258.

Paris, 17, 24, 39, 57, 64, 86, 135.

—, Matthew, 110, 148, 191.

—, Peace of, 184–5, 193, 225.

Passelewe, Simon, 101, 209.

Pastoureaux, the, 89–90.

Perronelle, countess of Bigorre, 82.

Peterborough, 191.

Peter des Rivaux, 35, 112, 117.

— of Savoy, 86, 118, 129, 133, 187, 189, 243.

— the Chamberlain, 199.

— II, king of Aragon, 14.

Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, 32, 34–7, 46, 112, 117.
Pevensey, 227, 243.
Philip, archbishop of Lyons, 86.
—, king of France, 14, 67.
Pickering, 196.
Pigorel, William, 90.
Poitiers, 68.
Pontefract, 216.
Pontigny, 64, 102.
Portsmouth, 50–1, 68, 73, 99, 255.

Raleigh, William, bishop of Norwich and Winchester, 121, 142–4.
Ralph of Canterbury, 77.
Raymond VI of Toulouse, 40.
— VII of Toulouse, 82.
Reading, 51, 63, 132, 208, 213, 273–4.
Reigate, 208.
Rich, Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, 37, 57, 64–5, 102, 117, 123.
Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, reproaches the king for his evil counsellors, 47; marries Isabella, dowager-countess of Gloucester, 52; protests against Eleanor's marriage, 55; reconciled to de Montfort, 55; departs for crusades, 63; his journey, 64; his generosity in Palestine, 64; visits the empress, 66; visits Rome, 66; secures truce at Taillebourg, 70; returns from Lyons, 87; regent, 99; declines the crown of Sicily, 128; elected king of Germany, 136; sends corn to England, 137; receives part of profit on new coinage, 150; demands money from the Jews, 152; forced to take oath to observe Provisions of Oxford, 178; reconciles Gloucester and de Montfort, 190; returns to Germany, 192; decides that Henry III has complete power over appointment of sheriffs, 198; house and gardens at Isleworth destroyed by mob, 219; taken prisoner at Lewes, 227; released from Kenilworth, 253.
Richmond (Yorkshire), 118, 187.
Rigaud, Odo, archbishop of Rouen, 83.
Rions, 98.
Robert, brother of Louis IX, 15.
— of Gloucester, 25.
Rocelin de Fos, 92, 95, 98.
Rochester, 220.
Rockingham, 30.
Romanus, 43.
Rome, 34, 57, 66, 123, 126, 130, 132, 149, 173, 266.
Royan, 69.
Rustand, a papal legate, 131–4, 178.

St. Albans, 33, 60, 64, 116, 132, 156, 179, 188, 197, 219.
St. Denis, 79.
Sainte Chapelle, 17.
Saintes, 69, 71.
St. Malo, 51.
St. Paul's, 18, 47, 60, 178, 190, 210, 229, 231.
Saint-Sever, 82.
Salisbury, 25.
Saut, 82.
Scarborough, 196, 237.
Segrave, Nicolas de, 225, 249, 254.
—, Stephen de, 35, 46, 113.
Sewal, archbishop of York, 123.
Sienna, 24, 130.
Simon Curlevache, 56.
— of Walton, bishop of Norwich, 208.
Siward, Richard, 47.
Smithfield, 27, 119.
Soule, viscount of, 81.
Southwark, 55, 190, 214.
Stephen, a papal nuncio, 33.

Taillebourg, 70.
Tartas, viscount of, 80.
Temple, the, 36, 52, 189, 209, 271.
Tewkesbury, 68.
Thomas of Savoy, 60.
Tickhill, 211.
Tonbridge, 34, 220, 229, 243.
Tower of London, the, 36, 253.
Trapani, 66.
Trubleville, Henry de, 56.
Tutbury, 140, 220.

Umfraville, Gilbert de, 75.
Urban IV, pope, 214, 215, 233.

Valence, William of, half-brother of Henry III, 120, 140, 168, 173, 196, 227, 238.
—, William of, uncle of Queen Eleanor, 55, 117–18, 144.
Valentin, John de, 217.
Vere, Robert de, earl of Oxford, 224, 245.
Veyrines, 80.
Viterbo, 118, 201, 266–8.

Wake, Hugh, 64.
Wallingford, 46, 233, 273.
Walter, a royal chaplain, 54.
— of Eynsham, 34.
Ware, 179.
Warwick, 219, 258.
Waverley, 75, 177, 273.
Westminster, 18, 30, 33, 38, 54, 59, 83, 107, 111, 133, 142, 144, 152–4, 167, 176, 181, 191, 193, 229, 234, 255, 261–2, 268.
Whippingham, 34.
William de Boell, 80.
— de Braose, 32.
— of Warenne, earl of Surrey, 31.
Winchelsea, 72, 102, 240, 256–7, 264.
Winchester, 38, 73, 107, 115–16, 121, 171, 173, 175–6, 180, 195, 243–4, 254.
Windsor, 95, 197, 210–11, 212, 217, 229, 253–5, 257, 262.
Wolvesey, 171–2.
Woodstock, 58, 138.
Worcester, 31, 216, 234, 238, 241, 244–6, 253.

STEPNEY PUBLIC LIBRARIES WHITECHAPEL